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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1. Purpose of the study

One of the significant developments of the war years was the increased interest of organized labor in the social welfare and health services of the country. Although labor has always been concerned to a certain extent with the welfare and health of its own members, it has held itself aloof from the established services, both public and private. In World War II, organized labor allied itself with the rest of the country in an all-out effort to win the war against fascism. Even before the United States became actually engaged in the war, labor had organized its own war relief committees to send aid to workers in war-afflicted countries abroad. When the National War Fund was started in 1942 to coordinate war relief activities, as well as to maintain the established community services, labor was ready and willing to cooperate in this aspect of the war effort. It seems probable that only the threat presented by the war would have influenced labor to subordinate what it considered to be its own interests to the interests of the country as a whole.

It was, therefore, a common interest and concern in war relief which brought organized labor groups and social service groups together, but war relief and social service were linked together by the creation of the National War Fund, and labor's new interest in the social services began. This interest has





manifested itself in many ways, but it has perhaps achieved its greatest significance in the community organization field. Now that the war is over and social work is confronting the complex difficulties of the post-war period, labor has continued as a partner in the fund raising and social planning field. If the community organization process is to be really effective in the attainment of better community life, there is need for the interest and cooperation of all groups in the community. Labor is one such group and it has brought to the new partnership a freshness of attitude and vigor of approach which has already had its effects in all branches of social service. For the most part, this effectiveness has been due to a relatively small number of top labor leaders. The great mass of union members still know and understand little about social work objectives. The writer's interest in this subject comes from a belief that social progress can only be attained by educating more and more people to accept their responsibility as citizens, interested and concerned in the welfare of the whole community.

The big developments in social work in the past few decades have been in case work and in public welfare administration. The major developments in the next thirty years will probably be in community organization. The big problems that face us--housing, security and the like--cannot be tackled by the individual treatment methods of case work, and obviously they will not be solved by merely seeking to administer effectively the public welfare services already authorized. The solution of these problems implies improved community organization. Our efforts must therefore focus upon the integration of





group forces for the attainment of these objectives.<sup>1</sup>

It was with these ideas in mind that the writer selected the subject for this thesis. Since it was necessary to limit the subject to one which might be examined with a reasonable degree of thoroughness in the short period of a few months, it was decided to focus the study on the relationship of the Greater Boston Community Fund and Council with organized labor. It was evident that it was impossible to have an understanding of such a development on the local level without a comprehension of developments on the national level. The Greater Boston Community Fund and the Greater Boston Community Council are affiliated with the national organization of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., and local labor groups are affiliated with the national organizations of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. While local groups are autonomous, at the same time they are a part of national organizations and local policies are greatly influenced by policies which have been adopted on the national level. On the other hand, national policies are meaningless unless they are put into action on the local level, because it is only through its local affiliates that such great national organizations actually function.

Therefore, the purpose of this study may be defined as follows: To examine and evaluate the record of accomplishment

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<sup>1</sup> Wayne McMillen, "Broadening the Base of Social Work," Compass, 27:17, March, 1946





in the development of a working relationship between the Greater Boston Community Fund and the Greater Boston Community Council on the one hand, with the Boston representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations on the other, considered in the framework of similar developments on the national level.

In order to carry out this purpose it is necessary to answer the following questions:

1. What have been the concrete developments on the national level, both with regard to fund raising and to activities other than fund raising which have gone into building this framework?
2. To what extent have these national developments been influential in determining policies and action in Boston, both with regard to fund raising and to activities other than fund raising?
3. To what extent have they not been influential and for what reasons?
4. Has Boston made any unique contribution in the development of this working relationship?
5. Have these developments been of value for the progress of social work, insofar as it is being developed by the community organization process in Boston?
6. What are the future trends and possibilities in the further development of this working relationship?





## 2. Scope and limitations

The writer has sought to limit the scope of this study within the area defined above. The history of the United States during the war years and in the post-war period; the history of the labor movement with the many controversial issues involved; the history of the community chest and council movement; the relationship of organized labor to social work in general--these are all large topics on which the study has skirted, but which have been considered beyond the scope of the study. The relationship between Community Chests and Councils, Inc. and organized labor on the national level and the development of the union counseling program has been presented as a necessary part of the study, but the material was derived, for the most part, from secondary sources, and is not intended to be complete or inclusive. Also, although the primary focus has been on the Greater Boston Community Fund and the Greater Boston Community Council, it is only as these agencies have established working relationships with organized labor that detailed examination and study has been made.

In addition to these self-imposed limitations, the writer has been aware of certain other limitations imposed by the nature of the study.

1. Because the whole development is so new, there are no books which have been written on the subject, nor have there been many comprehensive studies made.
2. Such studies, as have been made, and periodical





literature on the subject tends to become rapidly outdated because of changing developments.

3. It is difficult to evaluate what has been accomplished in Boston as compared with accomplishments in other cities, first because reports from other cities are so incomplete, and second, because the community organization process operates on varying levels in different communities and plans and policies are individualized according to the needs of each individual community.
4. It is difficult to evaluate what has been accomplished in Boston by interviewing individuals because of the emotional component involved.
5. It has been difficult for the writer to obtain interviews with as many different individuals as might have been considered desirable. For example, with regard to the union counseling training course, the writer would have liked to have interviewed all those who took the course. It has been discovered that some have left Boston entirely; others are union members working on factory shifts and it has been practically impossible to arrange a meeting time and place with them. The writer was advised against mailing a questionnaire to these members and felt obligated to follow this advice, since it was given by a member of the staff of the Greater Boston Community Council, who





had given a great deal of care and thought to the development of good relationships between the Council and union members.

### 3. Sources of data and methods of procedure

The first step necessary was to become familiar with the literature relating to the subject. Although there were no books available, the writer has found a large number of articles in periodicals. The files of "Community," the monthly publication of the Community Chests and Councils, Inc., were first examined. The National CIO Community Services Committee also publishes a monthly publication called "Citizen CIO." Both Community Chests and Councils, Inc. and the National CIO Community Services Committee have issued frequent reports which have been available to the writer. The AFL Labor League for Human Rights, although it participated in the National War Fund through its United Nations War Relief Committee, has been less actively interested in the social services than CIO, and while some pamphlets have been examined, there is less material available.

Since the beginning of the war, the National Conference of Social Work has had labor speakers, and reports of these speeches have frequently been printed in the annual publication of the Proceedings of these conferences. The Social Work Year Book has also had articles on the subject. Speeches at the National Conferences of Community Chests and Councils have been published in "Community."





Very helpful to the writer was a bibliography on "Organized Labor's Participation in Social Work" prepared by the Russell Sage Foundation Library. Also a request to the National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services brought two large scrap books containing pamphlets and reprints of periodical articles relating to "Labor and Social Work." The writer found that these reprints do not give volume or number of the particular periodical, nor do they give page numbers; only the name and date of the periodical is given. Therefore, in the cases where these reprints have been quoted, it has been necessary to omit this data.

Other articles have been found in such well known social work periodicals as the "Compass," "Survey Midmonthly," and "Channels." The writer acknowledges with thanks the loan of an unpublished manuscript from Mr. Clarence King, presented by him at the National Conference of Social Work on May 23, 1944. The writer is also indebted to Miss Ellie Gutman for her comprehensive and careful thesis entitled, "Labor Participation in Planning Social Services." This thesis was written under the direction of Mr. Clarence King and was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts at the New York School of Social Work in August, 1945.

Secondly, through the courtesy of Mr. F. Flagg Newcomb and Mr. C. Raymond Chase, the writer was given free access to the files of the Greater Boston Community Fund--that is to say,





of those concerning its contact and relations with organized labor. Both Mr. Newcomb and Mr. Harry Carey, executive director of the Fund, have read the chapter on the Fund and have made suggestions which have been incorporated in revising it.

Thirdly, through the courtesy of Mrs. Frances Guild and Mr. O. T. Gilmore, the writer was given free access to similar files in the office of the Greater Boston Community Council. Special study and analysis has been made of ninety referrals made by Union Counselors to Information Service, the central referral bureau of the Greater Boston Community Council, of which Mrs. Guild is the executive director. Tabulations have been made on the following points:

1. Number of referrals per month since the completion of the training course.
2. Number of referrals per counselor.
3. Number of referrals from CIO members, as contrasted with those from AFL members.
4. Number of referrals in which there was a previous Index record.
5. Types of problems referred.
6. Number of referrals caused by strike situations.
7. Agencies to whom problems were referred.

At the same time, a schedule of questions was prepared to use in interviewing union counselors who had taken the training course. Due to the difficulties already mentioned, only three such interviews have been held.





In addition, the writer has requested and obtained information from other members of the staff of the Greater Boston Community Council regarding labor participation in the work of specific divisions of the Council. The writer has also interviewed two important labor leaders--Mr. Jack Hurvich, executive director of the Greater Boston CIO Industrial Union Council and Mr. Ernest Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the Greater Boston Building and Construction Trades Council, AFL. Mr. Hurvich is a member of the Board of Directors of the Greater Boston Community Council and Mr. Johnson is a member of the Board of Directors and of the Budget Committee of the Greater Boston Community Fund.

#### 4. Estimate of the Value of the Study

At the spring conference of New England Community Chests and Councils, held in New Haven, Connecticut, on March 27th and 28th, 1947, discussion was focussed around the topic, "Facing the Immediate Problems Posed by Reconversion and Inflation." There seemed to be a general feeling that community chests, and with them, private social work in general, were in the midst of a most difficult period. In many cities throughout the country, chests had failed to achieve their goals in 1947 campaigns. A decline in large individual giving was reported and Mr. Carter Taylor, Executive Director of the Community Fund of Pittsburgh, referred to the large individual giver as "the vanishing American." Mr. Robert Cutler of Boston stated that in the nation as a whole, there was a cyclical





decrease in giving, not only to community chests, but to other philanthropies. Other speakers stressed the perilous times in which we were now living, both in the international and national field. It seems almost inevitable that community chests should reflect some part of the almost universal uncertainty and apprehensiveness which prevails.

In considering ways and means of meeting immediate problems, conference discussion focussed around the following topics: "Practical Ways for Agencies to Increase Income from Sources Other than Chest;" "What Services and Expenditures Might Be Transferred from Private to Public Agencies?" "Basic Economies in Agencies;" "Methods of Improvement in Fund Raising." It seemed to be generally agreed that it was a time for private social work to take careful stock of liabilities and assets in planning for the future.

There was scarcely a speaker who did not refer to the need of "broadening the base," not only of giving, but of participation in community chests and councils. This was perhaps best expressed by Mr. Max Livingston, President of the Association of New England Community Chests and Councils, who spoke as follows:

I think that more and more of our income will derive, not from a few large contributions, but from a broadening of the base of our contributors. How easy it is to talk of broadening the base of giving! How difficult to translate into reality. Because broadening the base does not mean just going to more and more people. It means knowing what more and more people want in terms of service and then providing those services. It means letting more





segments of the population participate in the making of policy so that the eventual program that emerges is one that not only meets the needs of a great part of our population, but is a program in which they have participated and that they thoroughly understand and can use. Broadening the base of giving is dependent on broadening the base of participation. If approached in this way, we are far from the saturation point in what private individuals are willing to provide for services privately rendered.

The major part of this study was completed at the time of this Conference, but the discussion outlined pointed up and gave meaning to the writer's purpose in writing the study. It is evident that the relationship of community chests and councils to organized labor is an important and timely subject. As already indicated, few studies have been made. Furthermore the Greater Boston Community Fund is one of the largest community chests in the country. Certainly it is the largest in New England, and many people look to it for leadership and guidance. It has been made evident to the writer that there is widespread interest in the topic selected for this study. It is the hope of the writer that the study will have some value to those interested in considering this topic at the present time.





## Chapter II

### LABOR PARTICIPATES IN FUND RAISING

#### Relationship between Community Chests and Councils, Inc. and Organized Labor

##### 1. Community Chests and Councils

Community Chests and Councils have been a familiar part of the American scene since the first World War. They were formed in response to the generally recognized need for coordination of social work programs, both as to financing and as to planning. The Charity Organization movement in the latter part of the last century had also been formed in response to this need, but with the assumption of social case work as a major function, the coordinating function had gradually been lost. Antedating community chests by a few years, the first councils of social agencies were organized in Milwaukee and Pittsburgh in 1909 for the purpose of providing an opportunity for consultation on common problems and the exchange of joint information. The first community chest is generally credited to Cleveland, Ohio, where a Federation for Charity and Philanthropy was organized in 1913. Due to the additional pressures brought on communities by the first World War, the period from 1914 to 1918 and immediately following was notable for the rapid development of chests and councils in many communities. This rapid development resulted in the formation of a national organization and in 1918, local chests and councils





sponsored and financed Community Chests and Councils, Inc. to serve in an advisory capacity to local groups. As at present organized, Community Chests and Councils, Inc. gives "service and leadership to local community chests and councils of social agencies in joint financing, joint planning, and interpretation of social work through committee activities, research, correspondence, field visits, local studies, regional and national conferences, and publications. It assists in the "development of community organization for health and welfare."<sup>1</sup>

The leadership of this national organization has provided for a certain uniformity in structure and program in chests and councils. However, the American tradition of local and individual self-determination has continued to be strong in this, as in other fields of social work, so that it is difficult to form accurate conclusions about the chest and council movement as a whole. Generally speaking, it may be said that chests, in most communities have sought and found what has been called "top-flight leadership," and chest boards, like the boards of private social agencies, have chiefly been composed of "the rich, the well-born and the able." Councils of social agencies were for the most part organized by social work executives and have suffered in the past from being known as social workers' clubs. Chest boards today still include top leadership, but a definite effort is being made throughout

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1 Social Work Year Book, 1945, p. 541





the country to make these boards more representative of the total community. An even more marked change has occurred in the Council field. Councils have not only expanded their memberships to include board members and representatives of other civic groups concerned with the health and welfare programs of the community, but have expanded their programs to include public agencies in planning for the whole community. This is a comparatively new development and is obviously only effective in those communities where public authorities are willing to join in such a cooperative undertaking.

## 2. Organized Labor and Social Welfare

"The interest of trade unions in the health and welfare of their members is not of recent origin," declared Abraham Bluestein of the AFL at the National Conference of Social Work in 1945. "It is as old as our country."<sup>2</sup> In support of this view, Leo Perlis of the CIO, at the same Conference quoted from the report of a meeting of the Mechanics Union of Trade Associations in Philadelphia in 1827 where it was declared that the "real object is to promote, equally, the happiness and welfare of the whole community . . . and to assist . . . in establishing a just balance of power, both mental, moral, political and scientific between all the various classes and individuals which constitute society at large."<sup>3</sup> Such a point

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2 Abraham Bluestein, "American Federation of Labor Participation in Health and Welfare Planning," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, p. 220, 1945.

3 Leo Perlis, "CIO Participation in Health and Welfare Planning," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, p. 228, 1945.





of view, however, was unusually progressive, and, for the most part, organized labor has, in the past, been concerned with the welfare of its own members and not with that of the whole community. It has preferred also to make its own provisions for its members, without benefit of social work.

The suspicions and criticisms which labor has had to make of social work are well known, and the reasons for this suspicion are easy to understand. Labor believes that it is attacking the roots of the problems which the social worker treats. It is hard to convince the worker that anything less than an improvement in his total economic status is other than palliative. Also, like other groups, the working man dislikes being regarded as an object of charity and he believes he can avoid this if he is able to win his battles.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the working man mistrusts social work because of the fact that its boards have been controlled, as previously mentioned, by people of wealth and leisure. His war is being fought against these very people. He is inclined to regard the contributions made by these people for the support of private agencies as a sop, offered to disguise the real fact that management refuses to pay wages adequate enough so that philanthropy will not be necessary. Mr. Monroe Sweetland of the CIO has explained what seemed to him to be the attitude of the working man towards

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<sup>4</sup> Bertha Reynolds, "Labor and Social Work," Social Work Year Book, pp. 230-234, 1945.





private social work and the community chest as follows:

For thirty years these social agencies have been the private preserve of the rich do-gooders, and labor has had only the oblique association which exists in another field between the guinea pig and the scientist . . . After all, when a CIO or AFL member looked at the front tier of community chest leadership, he saw only the old familiar faces which had blocked every step of his way through the years. His boss, or at least the boss's wife would be there, along with the town bankers and the president of the Chamber of Commerce. These personages were the symbols and idols of aristocracy. Every step the worker had made toward security or freedom in politics, industrial organization, or community affairs had found these same powerful ogres dominating the middle of the road ahead, smug, immovable and sometimes vicious. These few controlled all the social agencies, reasoned the worker, so why should we bother with them?<sup>5</sup>

Attitudes towards social workers themselves were no more favorable. As employees of the dominant group, they were tarred with the same brush. They were accused of bowing the knee to the rich and powerful and of seeking to entrench themselves more securely in their jobs, by giving little thought to the social causes underlying the problems presented to them. Their attitude towards their clients was considered to be patronizing, insulting and inquisitorial.

The working man who has come for assistance only because he must has resented being treated as an undesirable and an anti-social creature because of his needs. He has resented the fact that he came to the agency expecting to be dealt with as a normal person with an abnormal problem and has rather been treated as an abnormal person with a problem considered normal enough for him.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Monroe Sweetland, "New Democracy in Social Welfare," Antioch Review, pp. 420-424, Fall, 1943.

<sup>6</sup> Howard Lambert, "Organized Labor Looks at Social Work." Address given at Annual Meeting of Los Angeles Council of Social Agencies, June 17, 1943.





Those who are familiar with the history of social work will recall such pioneers as Jane Addams and Lillian Wald who took active leadership in promoting trade unions and who themselves worked for more progressive labor legislation. They will remember that today social workers in many places have organized their own trade unions, affiliated with CIO, so that underlying this general trend of antagonism between the two groups, there is a brighter thread leading towards more friendly relationships. "Let it not be said of us . . ." writes Mr. Clarence King of the New York School of Social Work, "that we are so enamored of our own techniques, so protective of our safe position in society, that we have forgotten the major purpose for which our skill has been given us . . . What do you care who travels with you so long as he is going your way? Be not afraid to be caught in the company of anyone so long as he is working with you for an America strong and active in a community of nations."<sup>7</sup>

### 3. Relationship between Community Chests and Councils and Organized Labor

Against this background, therefore, the stage is set for the developing relationship between community chests and councils and organized labor. The causes for this development are interwoven with the economic and political development of the country during the 1930's. It is beyond the scope of this

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<sup>7</sup> Clarence King, "Common Goals of Social Work and Labor." Unpublished manuscript presented at National Conference of Social Work, May, 1944.





study to trace the course of this history. Certain outstanding events are well known to all who have lived through that period. The cataclysmic effects of the economic depression of the 1930's have had a profound influence on all aspects of American life. The passage of the Social Security Act in 1935 was one result of the depression. The passage of the National Labor Relations Act in that same year was another. Labor regards this act as its "Magna Carta" and by it, labor's right to organize and to bargain collectively was reaffirmed; the National Labor Relations Board was established with wide powers, among which was the right to issue "cease and desist" orders against employers judged guilty of unfair labor practices.

The constitutionality of this act was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1937 and, as was to be expected, gave new impetus to unionism and was followed by a period of rapid growth of trade unions. The number of trade union members was also greatly increased by the formation of the CIO. Hitherto, the American Federation of Labor, which was a federation of craft unions, had been dominant among all other labor groups. CIO was formed by the presidents of eight international unions whose purpose it was to organize the mass industries into industrial unions, without discrimination as to crafts or skills. This new movement was bitterly opposed by old-guard AFL leaders, and a breach has existed between the two groups ever since. CIO membership very quickly outstripped AFL membership in numbers





and in 1940, total CIO membership was estimated at well over seven million.<sup>8</sup> AFL had over three million members at this time and such organizations as the Railway Brotherhoods also had their quota of members. That this is evidence of a remarkable growth in a very few years is proven by the figures for 1935 when it was stated that total union membership in the United States was estimated at four and a half million in 156 unions of national scope. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 further strengthened labor's position and recognized labor as having equal status with management.<sup>9</sup>

Management reacted towards this increased unionization in various ways in various places. As in Shakespeare's well-known quotation, "Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and others have greatness thrust upon them,"--some welcomed labor because they believed that labor organization would strengthen the country; others accepted it because they had to do so, and sought to establish good relationships with labor; others, who felt that labor had been thrust upon them, fought every step of the way and continuous bad feeling continued to exist in those plants.

Since the boards of private social agencies and community chests and councils were made up, for the most part, of the

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<sup>8</sup> Florence Peterson, "Labor Relations," Social Work Year Book, 1941, p. 304.

<sup>9</sup> Joh Fitch, "Organized Labor," Social Work Year Book, 1937, p. 314.





representatives of management, an equally wide variety of opinions was evidenced in dealings with organized labor. Community chests, however, from their very nature are obliged to be realistic, and an examination of the files of "Community," the monthly publication of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. indicates a growing awareness of the significance of organized labor.

In May, 1937, at the Pacific Coast Conference of Community Chests and Councils, the topic for organized labor was in the forefront for the first time. The topic selected for discussion was entitled, rather amusingly, "Organized Labor and What to Do About It," giving implicit acknowledgement of the vexing nature of the problem. As a result of this discussion, the Conference adopted among other principles the following:

Community Chests must cease to deal exclusively with management in employe solicitation and must work through employes, organized and unorganized, in firms where conditions make such approach feasible . . . Active support and confidence of organized labor must be secured, possibly through year round education and participation of union representatives on boards and sub-committees.<sup>10</sup>

Subsequent conferences of community chests and councils in various sections of the country showed an equal concern for this problem and similar opinions were voiced. To be sure, there was not complete unanimity of opinion, and voices of caution were heard on both sides. "The discussion has brought

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<sup>10</sup> "Pacific Coast Chests and Councils Meet," News Bulletin, Community Chests and Councils, Inc., June 1937, p. 5.





out the need for employe representation," said Otto Bradley, executive director of Boston's Community Federation, speaking at the Indianapolis Conference of Community Chests and Councils in 1937, "but we must not swing too far or we are liable to drop the employer,"<sup>11</sup> "I don't know yet what attitude toward the chest I'd recommend to labor," said Clarence Martin, labor representative on the board of the Trenton chest, "I'm on the board to find out more about it. When the people I've known best were in trouble or needed help, it was the government--not private charity that helped them out. When I've made up my mind about private charity and whether working people should be expected to support it, I'll make a report to the local labor unions."<sup>12</sup>

Throughout the 1930's, labor was increasingly solicited by chests, with a growing recognition that this solicitation could no longer be carried out by management acting alone in a coercive or arbitrary fashion. "Did you ever hear of the Boston Tea Party?" was a question asked of the chest executive of Bay City, Michigan, in the midst of an appeal to the employees of one of the city's industrial plants in 1940. "And then came a protest from the floor against taxation without

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<sup>11</sup> "Indianapolis Sessions of C. C. & C.--May 21-23," News Bulletin, Community Chests and Councils, Inc., June 1937, p. 10.

<sup>12</sup> "Regional Conferences Consider Problems," News Bulletin, Community Chests and Councils, Inc., June 1938, p. 11.





representation: labor had no voice in the affairs of the Chest."<sup>13</sup>

It was the impact of World War II, however, which brought this relationship to a more closely knit and more unified partnership. Even before the entrance of the United States into the war in 1941, the country was flooded by a growing number of war appeals which began to present a real problem. That the problem was one of national magnitude was evidenced by President Roosevelt's appointment of a War Relief Committee in March, 1941. This committee was vested with no actual authority and was later replaced by the War Relief Control Board in July, 1942. This Board was given broad powers to regulate agencies collecting welfare funds for use in the United States or abroad. Community chests and councils throughout the country had been concerned about the problem and had, in many places encouraged the formation of war chests to include, in one appeal, campaigns for war relief, as well as for maintaining local services. The first United War Fund campaign in the country was held in Boston in January, 1942, and this example was quickly followed by other cities throughout the country during 1942. In that same year, the White House approved plans for a National War Fund and in July, 1942, the National Budget Committee for War Appeals was set up by Community Chests and Councils, Inc., acting in cooperation with

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<sup>13</sup> Bent Taylor, "Labor Becomes a Big Giver," Survey Graphic, 12:49, February, 1943.





representatives from the leading foreign relief organizations.

At the same time, the two great national labor unions had also been concerned with the problem of war relief, and as early as December, 1940, the AFL had organized the American Labor Committee to aid British Labor. This committee was later reorganized into the United Nations Relief Committee, "in order to eliminate the confusion and the added overhead of separate duplicating appeals to the unions by the various war appeals agencies."<sup>14</sup> In November, 1941, CIO established by formal resolution at its national convention, the National CIO Committee for American and Allied War Relief for a similar purpose.

An event of great importance in the relationship between community chests and organized labor took place on August 17, 1942, when, after a long series of conferences during previous months, an agreement was finally reached between Community Chests and Councils, Inc., the United Nations Relief Committee of the AFL and the National CIO Committee for American and Allied War Relief. By the terms of this agreement, labor agreed "to cooperate fully and inclusively with community and war chests when war appeals are included and when satisfactory local agreements are made."<sup>15</sup> Since community and war needs

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<sup>14</sup> Release by United Nations Relief Committee of the Labor League for Human Rights, 1942.

<sup>15</sup> Community Chests & Councils, Inc., On the Alert, August 17, 1942.





were unified by war chests, this meant that organized labor, for the first time, had consented to take its place in the community chest movement as a matter of policy. In return for this cooperation, chests agreed that unions should be represented on the boards of local war chests and allocating committees; public recognition was to be given to unions for their contributions; employees were to be solicited jointly by representatives of management and labor.<sup>16</sup>

The significance of this agreement was commented on by Percy Shostac, Director of the Labor Division of the Greater New York Fund, in the September, 1942, issue of "Community" as follows:

In the long run, the community chest offers to both management and labor a device which can bring them better understanding, not only of social problems in the community, but of each other. Nothing can be so helpful as common counsel on a matter of unselfish concern to both, whether that counsel be taken within the firm solicitation organization, on committees or on the board of directors of the chest, where both sit as citizens interested in the community's welfare . . . Both nationally and locally, labor wants to participate in the chest movement and is ready to accept responsibility along with others in the community who are concerned with the welfare of people.<sup>17</sup>

#### 4. Post-War Period

The effectiveness of this agreement which remained unchanged throughout the war years can best be measured on the local level where it actually operated. On the national level,

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Percy Shostac, "Community Chest Turns to Labor," Community, 18:10, September, 1942.





leaders of all three groups expressed themselves as being gratified by the results. Mr. E. A. Roberts, president of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., and Mr. Winthrop W. Aldrich, president of the National War Fund, made a joint statement recognizing "the values that have been gained through cooperation with organized labor . . . ." "It is our considered judgment," they said, "that this unified approach to community problems should be retained and extended as one of the fundamentally sound gains arising from the war."<sup>18</sup> "To say that the practical results of labor's participation in Community Chest and Red Cross drives has been gratifying," said Matthew Woll, president of AFL's Labor League for Human Rights, "is completely to understate the case."<sup>19</sup> CIO expressions of satisfaction were somewhat more reserved. "Since all of us are guided by the same philosophy of service to our fellow-men, the choice is between unity and separation, between confusion and coordination. The CIO made its choice three years ago . . . . The common good requires the spirit of give and take."<sup>20</sup> These remarks made by Leo Perlis, Director of the National CIO Community Services Committee, were followed by tributes to the cooperative spirit of the National War Fund, Community Chests and Councils, Inc. and the American Red Cross.

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18 Quoted in editorial, Citizen CIO, December, 1945, p.1

19 Matthew Woll, "Yes--Human Rights," Labor League for Human Rights, AFL, p. 6.

20 Leo Perlis, Editorial, Citizen CIO, December, 1945, p.1.





As of November 1, 1945, the National CIO War Relief Committee officially changed its name to the "National CIO Community Services Committee." A Community Services Division had been part of the National CIO War Relief Committee since the fall of 1943 and was set up "to integrate the CIO's thinking concerning the welfare of the community into the planning and programs of domestic social agencies; to stimulate the interest of CIO members in community welfare planning; and to serve as a point of contact between national agencies and the CIO."<sup>21</sup>

The AFL's Labor League for Human Rights had been formed in 1938 "to serve as a medium of expression for the Federation's uncompromising hostility to all forms of tyranny, persecution and aggression."<sup>22</sup> The United Nations Relief Committee was formed by the League in 1941. At war's end, the Labor League for Human Rights declared that it was ready "side by side with other groups in the American community . . . to help ease the hard transition from war to peace to the end that human rights everywhere may be preserved and extended."<sup>23</sup>

It was evident that organized labor's active interest in social welfare problems, which was born of the war, was to continue into the post-war period. In the spring of 1945,

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21 Community Services Division, CIO, Form letter sent to agency executives, December, 1943.

22 Matthew Woll, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

23 *Ibid*, p. 10.





Community Chests and Councils, Inc. set up a committee on "Future Relations with Organized Labor." A series of meetings were held resulting in the issuance of a report and recommendations to the Board of Directors in September, 1945. "In essence it declared that organized labor had much to contribute in both planning and campaign activities and that chests and councils should continue cooperative working relations with the AFL Labor League for Human Rights and the CIO Community Services Committee in the postwar period."<sup>24</sup> This recommendation was adopted by the Board of Directors as a statement of approved national policy.

The year following the adoption of this policy was beset by the uncertainty and difficulty which so often mark a transition period. The fact that CIO leaders had expressed their enthusiasm for the new relationship with Community Chests and Councils, Inc. in a somewhat guarded manner was not accidental. Evidently CIO leaders did not feel completely satisfied with the way agreements had worked out, and this transition period was filled with threats and alarms. At one time, it almost seemed that CIO might break away completely and set up their own social services for their own members. The causes for CIO's disaffection are indicated by the following quotations. Mr. Irving Abramson, who was then chairman of the

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<sup>24</sup> Community Chests and Councils, Inc., Report of Committee on Future Relations with Organized Labor, September 15, 1945, p. 1.





National CIO Community Services Committee, spoke at a Community Fund luncheon in Boston in October, 1945, saying "Welfare services are not adequate, and we are not in the least convinced that the whole trouble is that there isn't enough money raised. There is confusion and rivalry and duplication in social work, as any social worker will admit. There is vested interest at the board level and timidity at the staff level. There is very little coordination and planning . . . We shall demand, and I say demand advisedly, that effective overall coordination and planning be effected in every community and at the national level."<sup>25</sup> Mr. Leo Perlis, National Director of the same committee, in addressing the Pacific Conference of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. at Coronado, California, in the spring of 1946, said, "They (referring to community chests and councils) can become the democratic, representative and vigorous force of volunteer participation for the health and welfare of the nation, or they can become the instrumentalities of the benevolently paternalistic few at the top to maintain the status quo at all costs--including the price of human happiness. We have made a lot of progress in extending the base of participation in Community Chests and social agencies, but not enough. Many agencies gave representation to labor simply as a means to obtain their financial support and not as a means to obtain their judgement, their ideas and their

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<sup>25</sup> "Agencies Need Coordination," Citizen CIO, December, 1945, p. 18.





points of view. This is pure window-dressing."<sup>26</sup>

In addition, Community Chests and Councils, Inc. were harassed by the publication of a series of syndicated articles by Frank R. Kent, criticising the contribution of the National War Fund to the financing of the labor committees. Post-war industrial unrest and strife, with the accompanying strikes which marked the early part of 1946, further agitated public opinion, so that the question of continuing some form of financing of the labor committees became a thorny issue at the annual meeting of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. in February, 1946, and at subsequent meetings of the Committee on Future Relations with Organized Labor. Some new variation of plan was discussed at each meeting. It became evident that the two labor committee budgets would not be provided by local Chests and Councils. A compromise measure, proposing employment of a staff directly by Community Chests and Councils, Inc. to stimulate participation of organized labor and employees generally through the two major labor committees and other employee groups,"<sup>27</sup> was made by the committee in May, 1946. This proposal proved to be acceptable to all concerned, and, as a result, Mr. Wilbur Maxwell was employed in September, 1946, as the first executive of the new Labor-Employee Participation

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<sup>26</sup> Leo Perlis, "The Community is the World," Citizen CIO, May-June, 1946, p. 10.

<sup>27</sup> Community Chests and Councils, Inc. Report of Committee on Future Relations with Organized Labor, July, 1946.





Department.

The transition period had apparently come to an end. In spite of the fact that Community Chests and Councils, Inc. had refused to continue financing the two major national labor committees, organized labor has continued its interest in community services. In fact, community chest campaigns throughout the country were reported to have had strong support from the local representatives of organized labor--as strong, or stronger than that which was given during the war years. Apparently labor has come into the social work picture to stay.

1. Greater South Community Council, "Community Chests and Councils, Inc.," Twenty-fifth Annual Report, 1955, 1956.





### Chapter III

#### THE GREATER BOSTON COMMUNITY FUND COOPERATES WITH ORGANIZED LABOR

##### 1. The Greater Boston Community Fund

It has been pointed out in the previous chapter that "due to the additional pressures brought on communities by the first World War, the period from 1914 to 1918 and immediately following was notable for the rapid development of chests and councils in many communities." The Boston Council of Social Agencies, with sixty-seven social agencies as charter members, was organized in December, 1920. The second period of great growth in the chest and council field was that of the Great Depression of the 1930's. Again communities and social agencies were faced with the tremendous pressure brought about by mass unemployment and the resultant misery which attended it. In Boston, the Council had been influential in fostering the organization of a Citizens Committee, which for several years (from 1932 to 1935) conducted Emergency Campaigns to meet emergency needs. Two-thirds of the proceeds of these campaigns were allotted to the City Department of Public Welfare for unemployment relief, and one-third to private organizations.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the almost superhuman efforts made by citizens in Boston, as well as in other communities throughout the country,

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<sup>1</sup> Greater Boston Community Council, "A Quarter Century Working Together," Twenty-Fifth Annual Report, April, 1946, p. 8.





it became evident that the problem was too great to be met by local efforts. The passage of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration act in 1933 offered temporary relief to overburdened public agencies, and when this was abandoned for the more permanent and effective plan set up by the Social Security Act in 1935, there was no longer a need for such inclusive campaigns. There remained the problem of the voluntary agencies.

"During 1934 and 1935 there was made, with the aid of outside experts, a comprehensive survey of about one hundred organizations that had participated in the Emergency Campaigns . . . This survey was sponsored by the Citizens Committee . . . the Boston Council of Social Agencies and the Hospital Superintendents Club."<sup>2</sup> As a result of this survey, the Boston Council of Social Agencies, in 1935 voted by democratic process, at a meeting of its delegates, to adopt central financing for the voluntary agencies, and the Community Federation of Boston (later the Greater Boston Community Fund) was born.

The foundations of the organization were evidently strongly and soundly built, as demonstrated by its steady growth and continuous public support. As it was originally set up, the Federation had 115 member agencies, the majority of these being located in the city of Boston. In 1936 a special committee was appointed to study the problem of admitting Chests and social agencies outside Boston. The report of this committee's

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2 Ibid.





work, which was completed in 1938, defined what was called "the Greater Boston area," set forth principles according to which agencies or chests should be admitted to the Federation, established minimum agency standards, drew up a technical form of agreement and methods of working out budgets.<sup>3</sup> It was the first chest in the country to expand on this large metropolitan basis. In keeping with this expansion the name of the organization was changed in December, 1940, from "Community Federation of Boston" to the "Greater Boston Community Fund." At the present time, the Fund has 330 member agencies in fifty-one communities. In 1936 eleven thousand volunteer workers raised a total of \$3,834,732. In a ten-year period, this figure has increased considerably and a total of \$7,375,794 was raised by thirty thousand volunteer workers for the year 1946.

From the first, Federation and Fund have commanded top leadership. Charles Francis Adams, III, a descendant of two presidents of the United States, and himself a distinguished public servant, has lent dignity and prestige to the organization by serving as its president during the entire period of its existence. "I don't know what we'd do without him," said John E. Lawrence, Campaign Chairman for 1947, "He puts things on such a high plane that nobody can resist him."<sup>4</sup> Cabots and

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<sup>3</sup> Greater Boston Community Fund, Annual Report, April, 1941.

<sup>4</sup> "Something Old--Something New," Time, November 4, 1946, p. 29.





Saltonstalls, and others from well-known Boston families have been members of the Fund's board of directors. In June, 1940, Robert Cutler, vice-president of the Fund, was elected president of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., giving recognition to the calibre of Boston's leadership, as well as serving to keep Boston closely in touch with the national situation. In this same year, Mr. Adams also served as chairman of the National Mobilization for Human Needs.

It is perhaps, therefore, not suprising that Boston was the first city in the country to organize its United War Fund. The Annual Report of April 1942 states with pride that, "Within sixty-six days after Pearl Harbor, Greater Boston had organized a United War Fund, mobilized thirty thousand volunteers and raised a total of \$7,704,386 for peacetime and wartime social and health services." Needless to say, the groundwork for this campaign had been laid considerably in advance of December 7, 1941.

Reference has already been made to the organization of the National War Fund and the National Budget Committee, which were set up in July, 1942, at the instigation of the President's War Relief Control Board, with the cooperation of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., and other national philanthropic leaders. Mr. Adams represented Boston on the board of the National War Fund, and local plans were rearranged to fit in with the national pattern. With the assistance of the Greater Boston Community Fund, the Massachusetts War Fund





Council was organized in 1943 to work with local funds in extending their territories to include outlying areas, and to stimulate independent campaigns in areas not covered. The date of Boston's campaign was changed from January to the fall, to conform with the national plan.<sup>5</sup> Boston's original United War Fund campaign had included funds for the American Red Cross, but, by a national ruling, the Red Cross was not permitted to participate in War Fund campaigns, and thereafter the Red Cross conducted a separate campaign in the spring.

In each of the war years, except 1943, the Greater Boston United War Fund exceeded its fund-raising goal. In view of the ending of the war in 1945, the name was dropped in 1946 and the Greater Boston Community Fund resumed its original purpose and function of raising funds for community agencies.

## 2. Cooperation with Organized Labor, 1935-1941

From the time of its organization in 1935, the Community Federation had recognized the fact that organized labor formed an important element in the community. Efforts were made to secure labor's good will by inviting labor representation on the Board of Directors, the Campaign Committee, the Budget Committee and the Industry and Finance Division. Also, the Federation early adopted a policy strongly opposing coercion on the part of employers in the solicitation of funds. However, there was no full scale campaign on the unions until the period

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<sup>5</sup> Greater Boston Community Fund, Annual Report, April, 1943, p. 30.





of World War II, and labor participation was largely confined to top labor leadership, who endorsed the campaign in letters and the press. That some members of labor groups regarded the Fund with a somewhat guarded attitude is indicated by this endorsement from Joseph A. Salerno, President of the Massachusetts State CIO industrial Union Council, who wrote in 1940, "Although the aim of Labor is social justice, the immediate objective of charity and of the Community Fund is a great undertaking that merits the support of every person in the community." (The italics are the writer's.)

Mr. Otto Bradley, first Executive Director of the Federation, has already been quoted in the preceding chapter as acknowledging the importance of labor representation, but he was concerned that the trend might go too far and thus alienate the employer. Mr. Bradley was succeeded by Mr. Harry Carey in 1940, and apparently Mr. Carey felt that Boston's relationship with organized labor was on a sound basis, as evidenced by the following quotation from a letter which he wrote on July 16, 1941:

Labor-Community Fund relationships depend to a large extent on the attitude of the Community Fund leaders towards labor. No mechanical arrangement with labor will ever work satisfactorily unless there is the proper spirit. There can be no patronizing attitude. There have been no problems and difficulties here as a result of board membership of labor, because a very real feeling of partnership in a great community exists.

Such a point of view on the part of the Executive Director of the Fund must undoubtedly have contributed a great deal





towards the continuance and further development of that partnership.

3. Cooperation with Organized Labor, United War Fund Campaign, 1942

As has already been indicated, plans for the first United War Fund campaign were laid well in advance. In order to secure the cooperation of labor, a Labor Division, with representatives from both CIO and AFL was formed in 1941, and the following purposes were outlined:

1. To advise all divisions on proper procedure regarding members of unions.
2. To straighten out labor problems as they arise.
3. To advise on securing the best relationships between the Fund and labor.

This committee pledged the full support of organized labor to the campaign and endorsed it by letters and through the press.

Also the Board of Directors sought permission from the Minimum Wage Commission for employers of Greater Boston to make payroll deductions, as a method of collecting employee pledges. This method of collection, coupled with the solicitation of a day's pay from each employee, was to become a national pattern during the war years. In a letter written to Mr. Adams on September 19, 1941, the Minimum Wage Commission granted the permission requested, "provided no coercion is used by the employer to force the employee to agree to the deduction. We know that it is the policy of the Fund not to use coercion, but there is a feeling that pressure has sometimes





been used." It is evident that, although wise policies may be adopted by the central group, they are not always carried out to the letter when thousands of volunteers are involved.

The tremendous success of this campaign was laid to better solicitation; patriotic appeal; better employment; higher wages.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4. Cooperation with Organized Labor, United War Fund Campaigns, 1943

In 1942, the Labor Division (or, as it came to be called, the Labor Advisory Committee) agreed to accept a new and more inclusive plan which would bring labor more actively into the actual solicitation of funds within offices and plants.<sup>7</sup> Details of this plan were outlined in a letter from Charles Cabot, Campaign Chairman, to various business corporations in December, 1942. It will be remembered that the summer of 1942 had seen the organization of the National War Fund and Budget Committee, as well as the agreement between Community Chests and Councils, Inc., the United Nations Relief Committee of the AFL and the National CIO Committee for American and Allied War Relief. Boston's plan was undoubtedly influenced by these developments, although there did not appear to be complete acceptance of national recommendations. The outline of the plan, as presented by Mr. Cabot, is as follows:

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6 Greater Boston Community Fund, Annual Report, April, 1942.

7 Greater Boston Community Fund, Annual Report, April, 1943.





1. Each local union to set up own War Relief Committee.
2. Company chairmen and union co-chairmen to plan campaign together.
  - a. Labor-management committee in each plant to be overall campaign committee.
  - b. Joint solicitation teams in each department of foremen and shop stewards.
  - c. Jointly signed letters of appeal to employes.
  - d. Short meetings to be held with speakers and the Fund film.
  - e. Use of War Fund and union literature.
  - f. Payroll deduction wherever possible.
  - g. Approaching new employes after one month's work.

A similar letter was sent by Victor P. Blaine, Executive Secretary of the Labor Advisory Committee to all company chairmen.

On January 20, 1943, the Fund and the Industrial Relations Council of Metropolitan Boston sponsored a labor-management dinner at the Hotel Statler. Outstanding speakers were obtained and more than five hundred attended. This was regarded as the "kick-off" for employe solicitation. A noon-time mass meeting was also held in Faneuil Hall for the employes in the market districts.

Due to the fact that the date of Boston's campaign was changed from January to the fall, in order to conform with plans of the National War Fund, it was found necessary to have two campaigns in 1943. In preparation for this second campaign, a Labor-Management meeting was held on May 27, 1943. The plan which was adopted by this group closely approximated national recommendations and included the following:

1. Labor-Management Committee will be enrolled to consist of representatives from both groups. This





committee will recommend the general labor policies of the campaign. Special problems, such as the suggested size of employe contributions and adoption of payroll contribution plans will be referred to it.

2. Additional labor representatives will be enrolled in industries or plants by appropriate Industry and Finance committees for consultation, advice and guidance.
3. Solicitation will be conducted through companies--labor representatives to cooperate with company chairmen recommended.
4. Records of total contributions from organized labor groups to be kept in each company and forwarded to Fund.

It was further suggested that the proposed Labor-Management Committee should include seven members from CIO, seven from AFL, seven from management, and seven from the Railroad Brotherhoods. Thus the former Labor Advisory Committee, which had been small and had consisted only of labor representatives, was abandoned in favor of this bigger cooperating committee. Assisting in the formulation of these plans were William F. Billingsley, newly appointed New England Regional Director of the National CIO Committee for American and Allied War Relief, and Henry C. Murray, New England representative of the United Nations Relief Committee of the AFL. These men had been sent to this area by their respective organizations, in view of the national agreement and were charged specifically with the duty of cooperating with United War Fund and Red Cross. They continued to act as liaison officers between the Fund and organized labor, after the formation of the Labor-Management Committee. They assisted in the preparation of the Labor-





Management Handbook, which was prepared for distribution to employe groups and were active in promoting the organization of labor's campaign in plants and offices.

5. Cooperation with Organized Labor, United War Fund Campaign, 1944

The plan which had been adopted in 1943 evidently proved to be satisfactory, as it was continued without change the following year. Mr. F. Flagg Newcomb was appointed Executive Secretary of the Industrial Division, his responsibility including the Labor-Management Committee. A high-light of the special publicity for labor was the launching of an L. S. T. at the Bethlehem Hingham Shipyards. Mrs. Richard Saltonstall, chairman of the Educational Division Advisory Committee, christened the landing craft, which bore on its side the inscription, "Show that you care by giving a day's pay--United War Fund--This yard, October 2-16." A total of \$80,000 was raised from this one yard.<sup>8</sup>

6. Cooperation with Organized Labor, United War Fund Campaign, 1945

The Labor-Management Committee met in June and again in September to consider plans for the fall campaign. In June, one day's pay was again set as the quota for each employe, but with the ending of the war and the cut-back to the forty hour week, this was considered too high by labor groups. Throughout the summer, small meetings with labor representatives in

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<sup>8</sup> Greater Boston Community Fund, Annual Report, April, 1945.





particular trade groups were held and plans were formulated for active participations in plant committees. The labor vice-chairmen of the Industrial Division were active in assisting in the organization of labor-management committees in the various plants. At the Second Report luncheon of the campaign held on October 3, 1945, Labor-Management was the key-note of the day. Mr. Ernest Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater Boston, and Board member of the Fund, presided at the meeting and Mr. Irving Abramson, chairman of the National CIO Community Services Committee was the principal speaker.

In his annual report, Mr. Newcomb, who had just completed his first year as Executive Secretary of the Industrial Division, expressed the opinion that the chief strength of Labor-Fund cooperation lay in the "unselfish desire of Labor officials to participate in Fund-raising enterprises and to attempt to enlist the support of union members." He also expressed the continuing need for chairmen with a sympathetic labor viewpoint. In concluding his report, Mr. Newcomb said, "The test of the effectiveness of the work with Labor will lie in the next campaign. Labor's active participation in campaigns dates only to the war years when they were appealed to on the basis that Fascism was Labor's natural enemy and that, in Fascist countries, labor unions were the first to feel the effects of dictatorship....Have we sold the need for community services to the working man or has the appeal been based too much





on fighting Fascism?"

#### 7. Cooperation with Organized Labor, Post War Period

The campaign which was held in the fall of 1945 was the last of the United War Fund campaigns. With the transition to a peace-time basis, Boston, like other parts of the country, went through a period of uncertainty as to the future of Labor-Fund relations. Mr. Jack Hurvich, president of the Greater Boston CIO Industrial Union Council, wrote a sharp letter to Mr. Michael Kelleher, Campaign Chairman, indicating dissatisfaction with the opportunities offered to Labor to participate in administrative or advisory functions on the top level. In this letter, Mr. Hurvich referred to the current discussion on the part of national Labor leaders, indicating that CIO could and would start its own social services, if satisfactory agreements were not reached.

Another factor in the situation was the withdrawal of the regional representatives who had been appointed by AFL and CIO to assist in cooperating with the United War Fund and the American Red Cross. These men had acted as liaison officers between the Fund and Labor on the Labor-Management Committee and had been very active on the campaign organization of employee groups. Nevertheless, the Fund, although it had utilized the services of these men, had not dropped local labor leadership from the Board or committees, as was done in some places, with the result that the withdrawal of the representatives created less difficulty than might have been anticipated. In fact,





Mr. Newcomb, in an interview with the writer on March 7, 1947, expressed the opinion that by dealing directly with local leaders, the Fund was able to establish better and stronger relations than ever before.

The Labor-Management Committee met, as in previous years, in the spring and in November, just before the campaign. In addition, Mr. John Lawrence, Campaign Chairman, held a special meeting with labor representatives in June, 1946. At the November meeting of the Labor-Management Committee, a resolution was adopted, which included the following points:

1. The Community Fund method is the soundest method by which people of all races, creeds and colors can work together to keep our community united and strong.
2. The Red Feather services are vital to the health and welfare of the people.
3. The minimum goal of \$7,000,000 is desperately needed.
4. A minimum of one day's pay is a fair share to ask of employees.
5. The method of voluntary giving through payroll deduction is the most effective plan.
6. The interest of our Community Fund can best be served by Labor and Management working together in this Campaign to make our community a better place in which to live and work.

Thus, in spite of the uncertainty which prevailed in the early part of 1946, differences were evidently alleviated sufficiently so that war-time agreements were reaffirmed in peacetime for the purpose of fund-raising for the community services.





## Chapter IV

### LABOR PARTICIPATES IN ACTIVITIES OTHER THAN FUND RAISING

#### 1. Community Chests and Councils, Inc.

The two preceding chapters have described labor's increased interest and participation in fund raising. It is impossible to make any accurate estimate as to the actual amounts contributed by union members during the war years. Mr. Monroe Sweetland of the CIO, in a speech at Williams Bay, Wisconsin, on July 8, 1943, estimated that labor's contribution for the preceding year alone totalled \$30,000,000, making labor the largest single source of funds. While this estimate cannot be accepted as accurate, nevertheless, it was evident that Labor had become a big giver, and like all big givers became increasingly concerned as to how the money was being spent, and also in the planning which preceded the spending.

The original agreement between Community Chests and Councils, Inc. and the two national labor committees had included union representation on the boards of local war chests and allocating committees. A natural sequence was comparable representation on boards of councils of social agencies. Both chests and councils in many cities recognized that labor not only had a right to be consulted, but also had much to contribute. A speaker at the Annual Conference of Community Chests and Councils which was held in Chicago in February, 1946, stated that, whereas in 1941, there were only about 125 AFL





and CIO representatives on chest and council boards, there were at that time (1946) between four and five thousand such representatives.<sup>1</sup>

It is obvious that such estimates do not give, nor do they pretend to give accurate information on this complex subject. They may, however, be accepted as indicative of a general trend. The Advisory Committee on Health and Welfare Planning of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. was especially interested in labor participation in activities other than fund raising, and in June, 1943, attempted to secure more accurate information from its affiliates by sending out a questionnaire to 450 local chests and councils. Answers to this questionnaire were received by 105 cities, less than a fourth of the total number, so that in spite of this attempt a complete picture was and still is lacking. Nevertheless, this survey gives the most accurate information which is available as to the development of labor participation during the war years.

The questionnaire was accompanied by a memorandum of several informal discussions between representatives of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. and representatives of the two national labor committees which had been held during the preceding months. This memorandum was not presented as a joint statement of policy, but rather as a summary of joint thinking

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<sup>1</sup> Report of Annual Conference, Community, 21:124, March, 1946.





up to this point. Some of the points included in the summary were as follows:

1. The process of planning for community health and welfare must have broad participation involving all important segments of community life. Organized labor presents an opportunity for participation of one such important segment.
2. Organized labor is interested in most of the problems with which councils of social agencies and public and private agencies are dealing. In addition to its natural interest in furthering programs which strengthen the entire community, organized labor has an added obligation to concern itself with health and welfare programs because of the substantial financial contribution of its membership . . .
3. Because of the wide variety of interests which participate in councils of social agencies, these organizations are somewhat more selective in sponsoring controversial issues than, for example, would be a labor union. However, a good council is flexible and responsive to changing conditions and attitudes, and a broadening in the participation in a council might naturally be reflected by a broadening of the scope of its interests . . .
4. Where organized labor is an important segment in a community, qualified representation of that segment should be provided for in social planning activities and in agency management . . .

Points 5 and 6 indicated some of the more important difficulties which need to be overcome in planning for the participation of representatives of organized labor and some of the methods by which these difficulties might be overcome. Point 7 emphasized the value to councils of adding "the stimulating influence to the social planning processes of a force such as organized labor."

8. Specific projects in the health and welfare field contemplated by labor should be cleared through the social





planning machinery in the particular community . . .<sup>2</sup>

The questionnaire was based largely on these discussion points. In reply to these questions, thirty-one cities reported that labor was represented on the board of the council of social agencies. "It is assumed that in most cases this is unofficial representation--the person being chosen in the regular manner to represent a point of view rather than being appointed to the boards by the labor organization as such."<sup>3</sup>

However, two cities reported that labor representatives had been formally elected by union groups; two other cities reported that labor members on the board were inactive. Other cities reported that labor leaders had been elected to council membership as "delegates at large" or had been included on special committees where the point of view of labor was particularly needed. In some cities, labor organizations have been included as institutional members of councils. Twenty-six cities reported that labor members served on the budget committee.

A question was also included regarding interpretation and education especially directed to labor groups, but apparently only a few cities had done much in this direction. With regard to the development of welfare activities by unions themselves, "the overwhelming weight of opinion was in favor of

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<sup>2</sup> Community Chests and Councils, Inc., "Labor Participation in Organized Health and Welfare Activities Other Than Fund Raising," December, 1943, pp. 10-12.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 1.





services established on a community basis with labor cooperation."<sup>4</sup> Several cities reported the development of information and referral services for union members. A wide variety of participation in committee activity on special projects was reported.

In general, the opinion of chest executives indicated that labor should be represented on chest boards, just as other important groups were represented, but there were several who expressed the opinion that there was current "over-emphasis" on labor participation. With regard to the question of a Council's taking action in controversial issues, the reply of one council executive was quoted, as follows: "Councils should concern themselves with all kinds of social problems including, but not restricted to, measures in which labor has a stake. However, there is so much needed in improvement of basic social services that the Council's usefulness, as we see it, lies immediately in that field."<sup>5</sup>

Another questionnaire regarding the employment of special labor staff on chests and councils indicated that twenty-eight of the seventy-six cities raising more than \$500,000 in their campaigns employed or had employed such staff. The majority of these staff members were employed on a part-time basis to assist with campaign organization; eleven cities employed a

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 8.





full-time staff member and four of these eleven employed more than one. Only three cities employed labor staff who were concerned with activities other than fund raising.<sup>6</sup>

It is evident that Community Chests and Councils, Inc. regarded labor participation as a significant factor in war time planning. In 1944, the Advisory Committee on Health and Welfare Planning added two labor representatives to its members. At the same time, the National Joint Clearing Body was established. This group consisted of representatives from AFL's Labor League of Human Rights and the National CIO War Relief Committee, as well as from Community Chests and Councils, Inc. The function of this Body is chiefly advisory and interpretative and through bulletins and correspondence, both local and national groups are kept in touch with current developments in labor-social work relations and may receive advice as to the best methods of developing labor participation within their own groups.

The difficulties which immediately followed the ending of the war have already been outlined in Chapter II of this study.

In 1946, Community Chests and Councils, Inc. established a separate department of Labor-Employee Participation and employed Mr. Wilbur Maxwell as its first executive. The first bulletin issued by this department on August 15, 1946, indicated the general principles on which post-war procedure was

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<sup>6</sup> Ellie Gutman, "Labor Participation in Planning Social Services," National CIO War Relief Committee, August, 1945, p. 59.





to be planned. Although these principles are similar to those already outlined in the memorandum of June, 1943, they are more concrete and indicate a greater degree of stability and acceptance.

1. Justification for a program with labor is a conviction that working people are citizens who should participate as full partners in community programs of service, and that an effective way of reaching great groups of workers is through the channels made available through organized labor . . .<sup>7</sup>

Other principles involved the employment of labor staff and recommended strongly the setting up of labor-management committees to act in an advisory capacity to campaign planning and also recommended labor participation committees for the year-round program. In conclusion, the final principle voiced was as follows:

8. No program of labor participation will be automatic. It will like any other community venture endlessly require initiative, imagination, patience and persistence . . .<sup>8</sup>

Each city to whom this bulletin was sent was asked to give an indication of developments in regard to:

1. Labor participation committee.
2. Labor counseling and referral plans.
3. Labor representation on boards and committees.
4. Special educational programs.

Condensed reports from nine cities were issued. The report

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7 Community Chests and Councils, Inc., "Labor Staff," August, 1946, p. 1.

8 Ibid, p. 2.





from Detroit included the following comment: "This whole question of labor participation on boards and committees is a problem which will require many years of patient effort before it will be satisfactory either to social agencies or to the labor organizations themselves. The important thing is, we have begun the process."<sup>9</sup>

Both this comment and the principle quoted above recognize the fact that labor participation is still new and that it will be a long time before it is possible to establish it on a basis which will be of great significance. By the establishment of the Labor-Employe Participation Department, Community Chests and Councils, Inc. is evidently thinking in terms of long-range planning. A staff of four is at present employed and the most recent issue of "Community" (February, 1947) announces that the new department "will be concerned with plans and relationships affecting members of organized labor and employes generally, which will help to bring these groups into a more active participation in the programs of local Chests and Councils. A volunteer organization to help carry out this purpose will be developed within the ranks of labor."<sup>10</sup>

## 2. Union Counseling

A special wartime development involving close working relationships between organized labor and councils of social

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 8

<sup>10</sup> "An Annex is Added," Community, 22:102, February, 1947.





agencies was the union counseling program. This is a program developed by CIO and the phrase "union counseling" has come to be accepted as descriptive of this particular type of program, as distinct from "employee counseling" or "industrial counseling." The rapid increase of production in war plants brought about a host of new social problems. Men and women, attracted by the high wages offered by industry, flocked to war production centers where overcrowded conditions caused housing and health problems, as well as the ordinary problems of adjustment which any individual has in moving to a strange community. One of the first ways in which attempts were made to meet these new problems was through the employment by management of industrial counselors. These counselors were largely selected because of personality characteristics, rather than on the basis of special training. In many cases, opportunity was given to them to have "on-the-job training." Industrial counselors were assigned to advise and consult with individual workers regarding their personal problems, and management hoped through this means to decrease absenteeism and increase efficiency. This development was so widespread and came to be considered so important that the Office of Community War Services of the Federal Security Agency issued a special bulletin offering guidance for setting up in-plant counseling services for workers. In this bulletin, counselors were advised to keep in close touch with community services, so that these resources might be utilized.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Mary Palevsky, "Counseling Services for Industrial Workers," Family Welfare Association of America, 1945.





Another development closely connected with that already described was the setting up of information or referral centers. In some cities, this was done directly by councils of social agencies themselves. Early examples of this new type of service were the Personal Service Bureau of the Cleveland Welfare Federation; the Red Feather Information Service of the Philadelphia Council of Social Agencies; and the Central Information and Referral Center of the Detroit Council of Social Agencies. In setting up Detroit's center, it was recommended that the staff should be composed of skilled case workers who would be able to see "the problem behind the question."<sup>12</sup>

In many cases also, unions themselves employed their own counselors. The most outstanding example of this was the setting up of the Personal Service Department of the National Maritime Union, CIO. This union has the distinction of being the first to employ professional social workers under its own auspices.<sup>13</sup>

It was against this background that the union counseling program was developed. It originated in Detroit where the impact of the rapidly increased war production was perhaps greater than in any other city in the United States. The plan grew out of an investigation as to the causes of absenteeism in war plants which was conducted by the War Policy Division of the

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<sup>12</sup> "Counseling Services," Community, 19:24, February, 1944.

<sup>13</sup> Mary Palevsky, op. cit., p. 38.





United Automobile Workers in cooperation with the Office of Labor Production of the War Production Board in 1943. As was to be expected, it was found that the causes of absenteeism lay, for the most part, outside the plant gates. A special committee to study the problem was appointed by the UAW War Policy Division and, with the assistance of the Michigan State CIO Education Department, the union counseling program, sometimes called "the Michigan Plan," was worked out. In essence, the plan is a simple one. The committee asked the Detroit Council of Social Agencies to plan a training course for groups of selected union members so that they might become better informed as to the services offered by the existing community agencies. Graduates of this training course were called "union counselors" and they were expected to act as referral agents in the plants in which they were employed. Perhaps it is the very simplicity of this plan which has made it so successful. "The essence of good community planning has always been based on a simple formula of getting needs and services together."<sup>14</sup>

At any rate, the plan quickly achieved wide popularity. The first training course in Detroit began in January, 1944, and by the late spring of that same year, there were approximately one hundred union counselors functioning in more than sixteen Detroit plants. Before long, it was estimated that

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<sup>14</sup> Mary A. Young, "Union Counseling and Social Agencies," The Family, January, 1946.





"absenteeism, which in 1943 ran as high as 20 per cent in some plants . . . had been considerably reduced in plants where the counseling system was functioning effectively."<sup>15</sup>

The plan was quickly followed by other cities with equal success, so that at the Seventh Constitutional CIO Convention in November, 1944, President Philip Murray urged all CIO Industrial Union Councils to "lend active assistance and support to the out-plant counseling systems which have been developed in a number of areas by CIO unions." Mr. Murray further recommended the new plan as preferable to management-sponsored counseling systems which, in his belief, often constituted a threat to unions. The union counseling program, he said, "has developed not only better relationships between the community agencies and the CIO, but has created a greater understanding in the community of our problems and needs."<sup>16</sup> As a result of this recommendation, union counseling was adopted as an official CIO program at this Convention. By June, 1945, it was estimated that a total of 681 CIO union counselors had received training in organized training courses in fourteen cities.

In November, 1945, the National CIO Community Services Committee issued a Training Course Manual, establishing the basic principles for the operation of the program. This manual

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<sup>15</sup> Robert L. Kinney, "Union Counseling Bridges A Gap," Survey Monthly, 81:101, April, 1945.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.





stated that the purpose of union counseling was "to offer service to union members on the personal problems which exist beyond the plant gates and beyond the jurisdiction of the collective bargaining machinery...through referral to the community agencies, both public and private, which they are already helping to support through taxes and voluntary contributions."<sup>17</sup>

The manual also pointed out that the union counseling program had value in providing "information about the need for new or strengthened services to meet the increased problems of workers" and also in developing "a new level of rank-and-file leadership within the union and strengthening union citizenship and influence within the community."

In discussing the training courses, it was emphasized that "the counselor is not to be trained as a social worker. He is not even going to be able to advise his fellow workers on their problems. He will only advise them where they can go for help on them."<sup>18</sup> The four main subjects to be covered in the training courses are (1) the counselor in his own union; (2) understanding of people who need help in order to be effective in referral; (3) close cooperation with social agencies; (4) techniques of referral. It was recommended that an event be made of the graduating exercises and that each counselor be given an identifying button to wear at all times.

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<sup>17</sup> Training Course Manual, National CIO Community Services Committee, 1945. Preface.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

stated that the purpose of this committee was to after ser-

vise to union members on the general problem which exists

beyond the plant fence and beyond the limits of the col-

lective bargaining machinery... through referred to the commu-

nity relations, both public and private, which they are always

helping to support through taxes and voluntary contributions.

The annual also called out that the union was working

to provide in providing "information about the need for

new or improved services to meet the increased needs

of workers and the increasing level of living

the community. It is the duty of the union and the community

together and influence within the community.

In discussing the existing situation, it was emphasized

that the committee is not to be limited as a social worker.

It is not even to be able to advise the fellow workers

on their problems. It will only advise them where they can do

for help on their own. The four main subjects to be covered in

the committee's work are: (1) the community; (2) the union;

(3) the workers; and (4) the need for help in order to be able

to live in the community. (5) those organizations which are

interested in the community. It was recommended that an

agency be made of the community relations and that each com-

mittee be given an advisory board to meet at all times.

IV. Final Report of the Committee on Community Relations

Final Report, 1935. 1936.

1935. 1936.



After graduation, success of the plan depended on good organization within the plant and the union, as well as on the ability of the individual counselor. Recognition by management was necessary in order that the counselor would be free to work on his counseling duties during working hours. The service would be publicized through the plant newspaper, special bulletins, posters on bulletin boards. The counselor should keep his union informed by reports at meetings. It was recommended also that counselors should hold regular meetings to discuss common problems and perhaps occasionally to have speakers to keep them abreast of developments in the social work field.<sup>19</sup>

In general, union counseling programs have been organized directly by CIO Industrial Union Councils and training courses have been planned by councils of social agencies. The plan has been most effective in those cities where social agencies operate a central bureau to which counselors may make referrals. In some cities, counselors themselves make referrals directly to social agencies. For example, in Delaware County, the Welfare Council has prepared a special directory of services and agencies, cross-indexed so that information can be found easily. This directory has been distributed to union counselors to assist them in making referrals, but they have been advised to call the Welfare Council office in case of uncertainty.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 33.





In Chicago, Miss Mary Young reports that certain questions have arisen indicating the need for more thought to be given both to training and planning if the union counseling program is to succeed. For example, she reported that misunderstanding had arisen over the matter of reporting by the social agency to the union counselor. This was sometimes neglected, with the result that the counselor felt he had a grievance. Furthermore, the social worker had missed a good opportunity for interpreting case work to the counselor and also the confidential nature of the relationship existing between the worker and client. Also in some cases, union counselors have sometimes not understood the limitations in function under which many social agencies operate, nor have they realized that there were some individuals who were so maladjusted that it was sometimes difficult, if not impossible, to help them. Here also is an important area for interpretation. In evaluating the program, however, Miss Young concluded, "Union counseling is one method by which the beginning of a broader approach to problems may be instituted. If properly handled through the counselor groups, through the referral services, and through the health and welfare agencies, the potentials in bringing services and human needs together are tremendous."<sup>20</sup>

Union members themselves recognize that the program presents some difficulties as evidenced by the following quotation:

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<sup>20</sup> Mary A. Young, "Union Counseling and Social Agencies," The Family, January, 1946.





Union counseling does not provide the full answer to the welfare problems of workers, as the unions themselves realize. It has its imperfections and limitations. Certainly a systematized referral program, no matter how well organized and efficiently operated, can work only so well as community resources of skill and facilities permit. But it can serve to obtain for workers what services are available; it can interpret social work to vast numbers of people for whom social work has never existed before; it can reveal needs for extension of services and for new services; it can serve to develop new union leadership for creative participation in health and welfare planning; and it does provide the first almost universally applicable union-community service program.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Robert L. Kinney, op. cit., p. 108.





## Chapter V

### THE GREATER BOSTON COMMUNITY COUNCIL COOPERATES WITH ORGANIZED LABOR

#### 1. Greater Boston Community Council

Reference has already been made to the organization of the Boston Council of Social Agencies in December, 1920. A comprehensive report of the history of this organization, the name of which was changed to "The Greater Boston Community Council" in February, 1944, is given in the twenty-fifth annual report entitled "A Quarter Century Working Together." Only so much of this history will be summarized here as has bearing on the development of this study.

From the first, the Council has prided itself on securing as Board members the most seasoned and experienced lay and professional people who could be found in Boston. Even in the earliest beginning, "The men and women who established the Council already had the benefit of some years of experience with less formal and inclusive methods of united action by social agencies,"<sup>1</sup> and were, for the most part, closely connected with well-established agencies. In the 1920's, the delegates chosen by the member agencies to represent them met quarterly and were influential in furthering developments which took place. However, with the growth of the Council and also "with general principles determined and the central

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<sup>1</sup> Greater Boston Community Council, A Quarter Century Working Together, April, 1946, p. 5.





organization accepted, the necessity for this town meeting kind of organization . . . became less."<sup>2</sup> Responsibility was delegated to the Board of Directors, except in cases where a critical issue was involved, and it is evident that it came to be regarded as even more important that the Board should be responsible and capable people. As was the case with Fund Boards, Boston's "first families" have been represented on Council boards, but there was a greater infiltration of representatives from the clergy, the medical profession, the social work profession, and others, with emphasis placed on intelligence and experience, rather than social prestige.

At the time of its organization, the Boston Council of Social Agencies brought together several federations of agencies which had previously been formed to coordinate the efforts of specific groups. The Boston Social Union had been formed as far back as 1900 to draw together the group of settlements, and this organization agreed to serve as the department on Community and Neighborhood Work of the new Council. The Boston Health League became the Council department on Health, while the Federation for Placement Work became the department on Employment and Industrial Conditions.

The report does not state at exactly what date the department on employment and industrial conditions was changed to the "Section on Rehabilitations for Employment," becoming a section of the Family and Child Care Division. Besides this section,

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 7.





the Family and Child Care Division includes the Family Section, the Children's Section and several standing committees. Each section, in turn, has its own committees, so it is obvious how complex the structure has become, in contrast to its comparatively simple beginnings.

The department on Health is now known as the "Health and Hospitals Division" and includes not only the Boston Health League, which has been affiliated with it from the earliest days, but also the Hospital Council, the Nursing Council and the Medical Social Service Section.

The department on Community and Neighborhood Work has now become the "Neighborhood Houses and Youth Agencies Division." The Boston Social Union changed its name to "The United Settlements of Greater Boston," but continues to serve as a section of this division. A Youth Agencies section has also been added.

The major part of the work of the Council is done by these three divisions.

Through the discussions and activity of all these varied groups and committees the delegates and committee members, assisted by the Council staff, plan jointly for meeting community needs and devise ways of translating their plans into action. By such a method real growth can take place, because decisions are not imposed, but are reached cooperatively and agreed to by those through whom changes in programs will have to be carried out.<sup>3</sup>

A recently added committee is the Committee on Local Social Planning. A staff of four persons is "available to

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3 Ibid, p. 13.





assist communities or neighborhoods interested in starting some form of local organization for meeting social and health needs!<sup>4</sup> In addition, there are several other standing committees directly responsible to the Board of Directors, among which are the Committee on Veterans, the Personnel Practices Committee and the Legislative Committee.

The Greater Boston Community Council also offers certain services to its member agencies. Among these are the Social Service Index, which has functioned as a separate department of the Council since 1930; Information Service, which was established in 1936, the year of the first campaign, to "provide a central place where the public can turn for answers to questions about social work and with their requests for services."<sup>5</sup> The Research Bureau has been a part of the Council since 1929; the Volunteer Service Bureau was added in 1934; the Camp Bureau became a year-round service in 1942; and the Public Relations Service has existed in one form or another from the earliest years of the Council.

At the time this report was issued, the Greater Boston Community Council included nearly two hundred member agencies, twenty-five being tax-supported agencies and 129 Fund agencies, with the rest voluntary agencies, not members of the Fund.

## 2. Cooperation with Organized Labor

The preceding chapter pointed out that labor participation

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 22.





in Council programs was still comparatively new and that it would be a long, slow process to develop such participation to the point where it would be satisfactory either to social agencies or to labor groups themselves. Evidently with an awareness of the difficulties involved, the Greater Boston Community Council has proceeded cautiously in this direction. They have hesitated to add labor members to the Board of Directors, until they were certain that they could find representatives who would be able to assume an equal place among other members, who, as already indicated, were among the most seasoned and experienced Board members in Boston. From time to time there has been talk of forming a Labor Participation Committee, such as was recommended by the National Joint Clearing Body, but no action has as yet been taken. Labor representatives have been included on special committees where it seemed particularly desirable to have labor's point of view represented, for example, the Committee on Child Care Centers. Mr. Charles Auslander, who succeeded Mr. William Billingsley as New England Regional Director of the National CIO Community Services Committee, was most active on this committee and was influential in securing legislation providing partial state support for child care centers at the war's end. He has been succeeded by Mr. Jack Hurvich, president of the Greater Boston Industrial Union Council, CIO, but Mr. Hurvich has not been active on the committee. Two other labor members have attended meetings regularly and contributed to the planning of the group.





The Committee on Personnel Practices has also had as a member an employe from the Boston Family Society, who was also a member of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO. Other special committees of the Health and Hospitals Division have also had labor representatives. Mr. Ernest Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the Greater Boston Building and Construction Trades Union, AFL, was chairman of one of the most important wartime committees--the Soldiers' and Sailors' Recreation Committee, which later became a part of the United Service Organization.

During 1944-45, several meetings were held between staff members of the Council and labor representatives "to talk over means of developing better cooperative relationships between organized labor and the Council."<sup>6</sup> It was agreed that the two groups had much to learn from each other, "but that it was not desirable to push too rapidly in the placement of labor persons on committees and Boards of the Council or its agencies."<sup>7</sup>

### 3. Union Counseling and the Greater Boston Community Council

The idea of conducting a training course for union counselors was suggested by Mr. Charles Auslander and was developed through such informal discussions, as those mentioned above, in the summer of 1945. It will be remembered that Union Counseling had been adopted as an official CIO program at the Seventh

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<sup>6</sup> Greater Boston Community Council, Minutes of Informal Group Meetings.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.





Constitutional Convention in November, 1944. Other cities who had tried the plan had been enthusiastic about it. The plan had been most effective in those cities where a central referral bureau or information service was maintained, which made it an appropriate plan for Boston, where Information Service had been functioning since 1936. Furthermore, the Council was fortunate in having for the executive director of its Information Service, Mrs. Frances Guild, a person of unusual ability and vision, coupled with warmth, friendliness and tact. The Council agreed to assume the responsibility of organizing the course through the Information Service office, with the understanding that labor groups would be responsible for recruiting members and carrying out further plans.

While union counseling was a CIO program, AFL members in Boston far exceeded CIO members, and AFL was generally considered the more influential group. AFL members were therefore included in the committee which met for the first time on August 6, 1945, to discuss plans for the training course. The objectives, as presented to the committee by Mr. O. T. Gilmore, the associate director of the Council, had evidently been outlined with the idea in mind that the union counseling course might be a first step towards the formation of a labor participation committee, in accordance with previous discussions. These objectives were as follows:

1. To extend the general knowledge of the community agencies' services.





2. To include representative labor people as part of the whole program of the Council.
3. To develop a consciousness in labor of their own potential usefulness to their fellows in assisting them to find needed services.
4. To clear the understanding of those attending the course in agencies and their relationship to the total community.<sup>8</sup>

These objectives were agreed upon by the committee and there was also discussion as to the content of the training course. CIO and AFL officials agreed to endorse the course, which was to be under the sponsorship of the Council.

It was originally intended to limit attendance to forty, but sixty-six registered at the opening meeting which was held on September 25, 1945, at the Boston YMCA. Mr. Jack Hurvich, president of the Greater Boston Industrial Union Council, CIO, welcomed the counselors and stated that the course would run for six consecutive sessions of two hours a week and upon completion, qualified counselors would be graduated and given proper credentials. Mr. Charles Auslander explained to the group how union counseling worked and outlined the basic principles, as quoted from the Training Course manual in the preceding chapter. Members were given a copy of the pamphlet, "Union Counseling, a New CIO Service for Industrial Workers" and also a copy of the CIO War Relief News. An outline of the program of the course is appended to this study. In general,

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<sup>8</sup> Greater Boston Community Council, Minutes of Meeting of Committee on Course for Union Counselors and Referral Aides, August 6, 1945.





the course attempted to give a broad survey of the social welfare and health services available in Boston. A special session on "Interviewing Techniques" was held.<sup>9</sup>

A total of thirty persons completed this first training course. Twenty of these were CIO members (including Mr. Charles Auslander and Mr. Jack Hurvich); four were AFL members and one was unaffiliated; the remaining five were staff members of the Greater Boston Community Fund and Council--Mr. Harry Carey, executive director of the Fund; Mr. Roy Cushman and Mr. O. T. Gilmore, executive director and associate director respectively of the Council; Mrs. Rose Bull, director of Public Relations Service and Mrs. Frances Guild, director of Information Service. Graduation exercises were held on December 13th and members were awarded their union counselor buttons.

It was decided that the newly graduated union counselors should use Information Service in making referrals. The Greater Boston Industrial Union Council, CIO, printed posters which were displayed in the various factories where union counselors were employed and where the cooperation of management was secured. These posters gave the names of the union counselors in each plant. Mrs. Rose Bull also cooperated with CIO in preparing a pamphlet to be issued jointly by the two groups and distributed among the workers. Congratulatory letters were exchanged. Mr. Hurvich and Mr. Auslander sent letters

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<sup>9</sup> Greater Boston Community Council, Minutes of the Union Counselor Training Course.





to Mr. Cushman and Mrs. Guild, giving "heartfelt thanks" for their "enthusiasm, cooperation and interest." "It is our belief," they said, "that both CIO and the Council have made a wise investment in public relations in Greater Boston." In replying to this letter, Mr. Cushman said, "All of us were very much impressed with the interest and enthusiasm shown by labor people. We are eager to make this the beginning of a period of closer relations."

At the final meeting of the training course, it was decided to appoint an Advisory Committee to discuss further plans. At this meeting also, an interest was expressed in having further sessions. An additional lecture for this original group was given in December. In January, 1946, the Advisory Committee met and decided to hold an "advanced" course for those who had attended the original course. Four additional sessions were therefore held. Two of these sessions were devoted to field visits--one to the Floating Hospital and the other to the Boston Dispensary.

In March, 1946, the Advisory Committee met again and decided to have a Second Training Course in the spring. This course was held from April 23rd through May 28th and the program was similar to that of the first training course. (See Appendix.) Eighteen persons completed this course, of whom six were "repeaters." The six "repeaters" were all CIO members. Of the twelve new counselors, six were CIO members and six were AFL.





Although the number of persons completing these training courses was comparatively small, it was believed that these persons were influential in spreading the news about the course among a far wider audience. The twenty-four CIO members who completed the course represented twelve different local unions; the ten AFL members represented eight local unions. Although it is impossible to secure accurate information on this subject, labor leaders interviewed are of the opinion that these counselors kept their local unions in close touch with the training courses and with subsequent developments, by frequent reports at union meetings. Inquiries and referrals which have come into the Information Service office have borne out these opinions.

It has been possible to secure more accurate information from the referrals made by union counselors directly to Information Service. The writer has made a study of ninety referrals made by union counselors in slightly over a year's period--from November, 1945, to January, 1947. Information from these referrals has been tabulated as follows:

1. Total number of referrals from Union Counselors to Information Service from the time of the completion of the training course to January, 1947.
2. Number of referrals from individual counselors. This table also indicates the number of referrals from CIO members, as contrasted with those from AFL members.

Although the number of persons completing these training courses was comparatively small, it was believed that these persons were influential in spreading the news about the course among a far wider audience. The twenty-four CIO members who completed the course represented twenty different local unions; the ten AFL members represented eight local unions. Although it is impossible to secure accurate information on this subject, labor leaders interviewed are of the opinion that these counselors kept their local unions in close touch with the training courses and with subsequent developments, by frequent reports at union meetings. Industries and referrals which have come into the Information Service office have borne out these opinions.

It has been possible to secure more accurate information from the referrals made by union counselors directly to Information Service. The writer has made a study of ninety referrals made by union counselors in all cities over a year's period--from November, 1945, to January, 1947. Information from these referrals has been tabulated as follows:

1. Total number of referrals from union counselors to Information Service from the time of the completion of the training course to January, 1947.
2. Number of referrals from individual counselors. This table also indicates the number of referrals from CIO members, as compared with those from AFL members.



3. Types of problems referred by Union Counselors and agencies to whom these problems were referred. This table indicates the number of referrals caused by strike situations.
4. Social Service Index report on referrals made by Union Counselors, indicating the number of referrals in which there was a previous Index record.

This information is presented on the pages immediately following.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the Chart and Tables presented below:

Chart I: The largest number of referrals was made in February, March and July, 1946--the months when strikes prevailed in Boston. The larger number of referrals during those months may be taken as a reflection of the hardships produced or aggravated by strikes. During recent months, there have been few referrals made by union counselors. This may indicate that conditions have become more stabilized, so that there is not so much hardship prevalent among union members; it may also indicate the need for increased supervision of this voluntary program, such as would only be possible if special staff to deal with labor were employed by the Council. Continuous publicity, follow-up meetings and individual conferences would only be possible for a staff member free to devote a substantial amount of time to this program.





## CHART I

TOTAL NUMBER OF REFERRALS FROM UNION COUNSELORS TO  
INFORMATION SERVICE, GREATER BOSTON COMMUNITY COUNCIL,  
NOVEMBER, 1945 - JANUARY, 1947

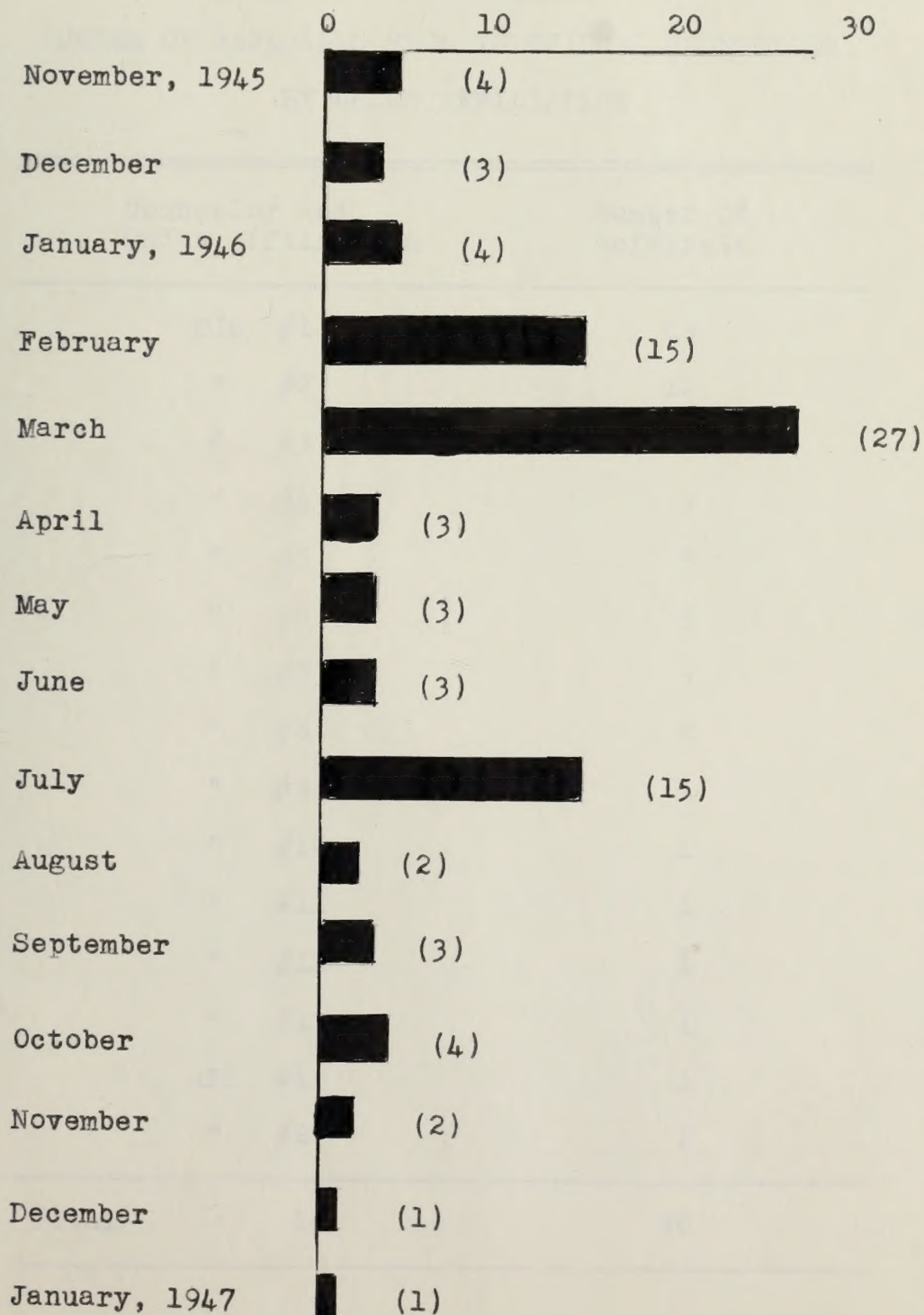






TABLE I

## NUMBER OF REFERRALS FROM INDIVIDUAL COUNSELORS

## BY UNION AFFILIATION

Counselor and Union Affiliation		Number of Referrals
CIO	#1	43
"	#2	12
"	#3	10
"	#4	5
"	#5	5
"	#6	3
"	#7	3
"	#8	2
"	#9	1
"	#10	1
"	#11	1
"	#12	1
"	#13	1
AFL	#1	1
"	#2	1
Total	15	90





TABLE II

TYPES OF PROBLEMS REFERRED BY UNION COUNSELORS AND AGENCIES  
TO WHOM PROBLEMS WERE REFERRED BY INFORMATION SERVICE

Types of problems	No.	Agencies to whom problems were referred	No.
<b>A. Economic</b>			
Worker on strike causing financial difficulty	23	Belmont Family Society	1
		Boston C. C. B.	1
		Boston Family Society	1
		Boston Provident Ass.	9
		D. P. W., Boston	3
		Somerville	1
		Stoneham	1
		Industrial Aid Society	2
		Somerville C. C. C.	2
		Veterans' Service Center	1
<b>B. Employment</b>			
Need for employment	6	Boston Family Society	1
		Cambridge C. C. B.	1
		D. P. W., Boston	1
		United Prison Ass.	1
		Veterans' Service Center	2
<b>C. Family relationships</b>			
Difficulties regarding children	3	A. D. C.	1
		Boston Provident Ass.	1
		S. P. C. C.	1
Difficulties between members of family	1	Boston Provident Ass.	1
Discharge from service	1	Home Service, A. R. C.	1
Release from prison	1	Legal Aid Society	1
Worker on strike, family difficulties	10	Boston Lying-In Hospital	1
		Boston Provident Ass.	4
		Cambridge Family Society	1
		Home Service, A. R. C.	1
		Industrial Aid Society	1
		Lawrence City Mission	1
		Soldiers' Relief	1
Total	45		45





TABLE II  
(continued)

Types of problems	No.	Agencies to whom problems were referred	No.
D. Mental Health			
Psychiatric difficulties	3	Boston Family Society	3
E. Physical Health			
Chronic illness caused by old age	5	Boston C. C. B.	1
		Boston Family Society	1
		Old Age Assistance	2
		Soldiers' Relief	1
Illness in family	11	Boston Dispensary	1
		Boston Family Society	1
		Boston Provident Ass.	2
		Cambridge Family Society	1
		Children's Hospital	1
		Industrial Aid Society	1
		Malden Family Society	1
		Mass. General Hospital	1
		Mass. Memorial Hospital	1
		St. Margaret's Hospital	1
Worker on strike, illness in family	17	Boston C. C. B.	1
		Boston Dispensary	1
		Boston Family Society	1
		Boston Provident Ass.	5
		Cambridge C. C. B.	1
		Cambridge City Hospital	1
		Carney Hospital	1
		Children's Hospital	1
		D. P. W., Boston	2
		Mass. General Hospital	1
		Soldiers' Relief	1
		Somerville C. C. C.	1
F. Social and Environmental			
Fire	1	Boston Provident Ass.	1
Housing	2	Legal Aid Society	1
		Somerville Family Society	1
Worker on strike, fire	1	Boston Family Society	1
Worker on strike, housing	3	Boston Provident Ass.	1
		Cambridge C. C. B.	1
		D. P. W., Boston	1
Total	45		45
Total cases, worker on strike	54	Grand Total	90





## TABLE III

## SOCIAL SERVICE INDEX REPORT

## ON REFERRALS MADE BY UNION COUNSELORS

Previous Index record	40
Parents or relatives known to Index	3
No Index record	<u>47</u>
Total	90

Table I: Mr. Jack Hurvich, president of the Greater Boston CIO Industrial Union Council, and #2 on the list of union counselors, indicated to the writer that he had delegated special responsibility for the union counseling program in Boston to Mr. Berry Aronson, #1 on the list. Mr. Charles Auslander, who acted as the New England Regional Director of the National CIO Community Services Committee until last spring, is #3 on the list. It is apparent that well over one-half of the referrals were from these three men. The number of referrals from rank-and-file union members is small, and almost negligible, as far as AFL members are concerned.

Table II: The importance of strikes in affecting the lives of union members is again clearly indicated by this Table which indicates that in over one-half of the referrals made, the worker was on strike.

Table III: One of the purposes of the union counseling program is to widen knowledge of the services available. The fact that over one-half of the referrals made were not previously known to the Social Service Index may indicate that





this purpose was realized to a certain extent.

As indicated by the introduction to this study, the writer has been able to interview only three union counselors. However, other interviews with Mr. Hurvich, Mr. Johnson, AFL, and Mrs. Guild have led the writer to believe that the points of view expressed by these three are fairly typical of the whole group. Since there was great uniformity in their answers, they will be summarized together. Two of those interviewed were CIO members who had made several referrals; the third was an AFL member who had made no referrals. All three were equally enthusiastic about the training course and had been impressed by the quantity and quality of the services offered by the social agencies in Boston. All three apparently recognized the fact that, although labor unions were attempting to alleviate the economic difficulties of workers, nevertheless there was a wide range of problems, other than economic problems which full employment and higher wages could not solve. All three believed that the worker should be educated to accept help from social agencies as a service to which they had a right, rather than feeling that they are abasing themselves by asking for charity. All three also agreed that the union counseling program had done a great deal in creating better feeling on the part of workers towards the Fund. One CIO member said that the members of his local had been inclined to ask, "What has the Fund ever done for us?" when asked to contribute to the campaign. He had been very pleased to tell





them about the union counseling training course and also about several cases where social agencies had helped union members. He believed that this had resulted not only in creating better feelings towards the Fund, but towards the union as well. The two CIO members interviewed reported that good cooperation had been given by management in the places where they worked. They had been permitted to carry on their duties as union counselors during working hours and to use the telephone if necessary. Pamphlets had been distributed to the workers and posters had been put on bulletin boards. Reports had been made at regular union meetings. The AFL member, while she was equally enthusiastic about the course, had evidently not made as much effort in promoting it among the members of her union. There were no posters on the bulletin board of her office and she said that she was apt to get so busy with other things that she would forget about union counseling, unless something special happened to remind her of it. She expressed a wish for more follow-up meetings, as did the other two. All three hoped that the Council would offer other training courses.

In line with the thinking expressed both by Mr. Cushman and Mr. Gilmore that this course should be the beginning of a period of closer relations between the Council and organized labor, Mr. Jack Hurvich, CIO, and Mr. Joseph Lane, AFL, were elected as members of the Board of Directors of the Council at the annual meeting in April, 1946. Both these men had been members of the training course and Mr. Gilmore expressed the





opinion that this intensive course had given them sufficient background so that they were capable of taking their places among the other more experienced board members.

It would seem that the Greater Boston Community Council has taken an important step forward in cooperating with organized labor.

1) Mr. Henry Jones, Executive Director, Greater Boston Community Council.

Mr. Jones expressed himself as being well acquainted with the relationship between the Council and organized labor. Although there is no Labor Union, labor has been represented on the board of directors of the Council since its formation in 1939. He stated that the Council has been successful in its efforts to bring about a better understanding of the needs of the community and the needs of labor.

Mr. Jones believed that labor is one of the most important groups in the community and that it should be given representation on the Council. He stated that the Council has been successful in its efforts to bring about a better understanding of the needs of the community and the needs of labor. He stated that the Council has been successful in its efforts to bring about a better understanding of the needs of the community and the needs of labor. He stated that the Council has been successful in its efforts to bring about a better understanding of the needs of the community and the needs of labor.





## Chapter VI

## EVALUATION AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Evaluation

Before forming conclusions about the relationship between the Greater Boston Community Fund and Council with organized labor, the writer has attempted to obtain an evaluation of this relationship from those most directly concerned with its development. Seven interviews held for this purpose are summarized below:

## 1) Mr. Harry Carey, Executive Director, Greater Boston Community Fund.

Mr. Carey expressed himself as being well satisfied with the relationship between the Fund and organized labor. Although Boston is not a 'labor town,' labor has been represented on the Board of Directors of the Fund since its organization in 1935. Consistent friendly relations have existed throughout the entire period of the Fund's existence.

Mr. Carey believes that labor is one of the many groups in the community which should be given recognition, but that, as with other groups, this recognition should be earned. He states that labor leaders themselves did not believe that labor should be 'singled out,' nor that the Fund should employ special labor staff, any more than special staff should be employed for other groups. It is Mr. Carey's opinion that labor should be treated as an equal partner without deference and without patronage.





The labor-management plan of soliciting employes has proven itself to be a sound one and Mr. Carey does not believe that the solicitation of employes should be completely turned over to union groups, as has been suggested by some CIO leaders. Mr. Carey spoke of the effectiveness of the union counseling program in spreading good will toward the Fund among union members.

2) Mr. F. Flagg Newcomb, Executive Secretary, Industrial Division.

The Industrial Division, of which Mr. Newcomb is secretary, is not primarily concerned with labor groups, but with industry as a whole. This division raises about 14.3 per cent of the total campaign goal. It is estimated that there are eighty thousand employes in the plants of the Industrial Division. Of these, approximately thirty thousand are known contributors to the Fund. These thirty thousand individual employes contributed about 40 per cent of the total amount raised by the Industrial Division in last fall's campaign. (November, 1946.) It is impossible to estimate how many of these thirty thousand employes are members of labor unions, Since labor leaders have insisted upon recognition of union gifts, union members have frequently been credited with the total contributions from organized plants, whether or not the plant operated on the basis of a closed shop. It is evident, therefore, that the contributions of labor union members in Boston constitute a comparatively small part of the total amount





raised. In this connection, it is interesting to note that in 1944, it was estimated that eighty-two individuals, giving \$5,000 or over, contributed 10 per cent of the total campaign goal; 110 corporations, giving \$5,000 or over, contributed 25 per cent of this goal.

Nevertheless, Mr. Newcomb does not agree with those who believe that labor is a 'necessary evil.' He believes that the strength of the Fund lies in the large numbers of small givers and that labor represents an important group in the community who should and must be considered. He believes that labor support during last fall's campaign was stronger than ever before and this, he attributed to the fact that the Fund has kept in close touch with local leadership throughout the war years. In some communities, there was a tendency to work entirely through the regional representatives sent to the area by the two national labor committees. This resulted in an attitude on the part of labor people of 'letting George do it,' with the result that local leaders tended to lag in their efforts. In Boston, this was not done and, although the regional directors were withdrawn last spring, labor support has been as strong, if not stronger than ever before. Mr. Newcomb has found the rank and file union member to be a harder campaign worker than the top labor leader who had many other pre-occupations.

Mr. Newcomb also believes that the union counseling training course did more to make for good feeling between the Fund





and labor than any other single thing which has been done. As an example, Mr. Newcomb referred to the fact that early in last year's campaign, Mr. Berry Aronson volunteered of his own accord to work on the campaign and to assist in coordinating labor groups. This Mr. Newcomb believed was entirely due to Mr. Aronson's experience with union counseling.

3) Mr. O. T. Gilmore, Associate Director, Greater Boston Community Council.

Mr. Gilmore's point of view regarding labor representation on the Board of Directors and committees of the Council has already been quoted in the preceding chapter. He believes that board members should first have experience in serving on agency boards or on Fund or Council committees before being ready for membership on the Board of Directors of the Council. From that point of view, it had been difficult for the Council to find union people sufficiently experienced in the social services to act as Board members. AFL is the old and well-established union in Boston and CIO is still comparatively new and comparatively weak. One difficulty in dealing with AFL is that many of their members are not educated people and have little understanding of community problems. CIO has included more college graduates among its ranks, but for a long time, nobody on the Council knew anybody from CIO. Since the completion of the union counseling course, the Council has now been able to secure labor representatives on the Board, and Mr. Gilmore believes that a good start has been made towards





establishing closer relations. He would like to see the establishment of a Labor Participation Committee to further develop this relationship. This participation could be chiefly developed in those areas where labor and the Council had a common concern, such as housing, better health services, neighborhood councils. The Council has, as yet, done nothing to encourage agencies to include labor representatives on their boards, but agencies have occasionally called the Council office to ask advice regarding specific individuals. Mr. Gilmore is doubtful whether the employment of labor staff would be an especially valuable thing for the Council. He agrees with those who believe that labor is one of the many groups in the community which should be given recognition, but that recognition should be earned, and labor should not be treated as a special group requiring special concern.

4) Mrs. Frances Guild, Executive Director, Information Service

Reference has already been made to the very active part taken by Mrs. Guild in the organization and conducting of the union counselor training course. Mrs. Guild believes this to be one of the most satisfying experiences in which she has ever participated. She said that early in the course, union members had a somewhat defensive and hostile attitude, but as time went on, they grew to be whole-hearted in their enthusiasm and responsiveness. Mrs. Guild said that it was as though a whole new world had been opened up to them, of which they had not previously been aware.





In summarizing her thoughts on the subject, Mrs. Guild has written the following:

Now that some months have elapsed since the Greater Boston Community Council carried out an Information Training Course for Union members describing the health and welfare resources of the community, it seems well to "take stock" and to consider some of its values, both to the student and to the Council.

It was evident that, for the first time, the members realized the scope of services available to the individual, and also how to reach those services with the least possible delay and effort. Because they actually experienced the securing of help for their fellow employes, their attitude of indifference changed to one of genuine interest and enthusiasm. Many of them understood for the first time what services their taxes and Community Fund donations provided. Their subsequent requests for assistance and information have ranged from those involving financial aid to securing facilities for a group of factory workers for basket-ball practice.

The good will built up by the course produced direct benefits to the Council and Fund in increased pledges at campaign time. But more important were the friendly statements that greeted the Community Fund speakers and solicitors. Any educational job takes unlimited time and effort, and, to be really effective, has to be done slowly in small groups for complete understanding. We felt that the educational benefits of the course were not at all limited to the groups that actually attended the classes, but have extended far beyond the original nucleus.

Although two or three Union members have spoken to us about the desirability of setting up another similar course, and we have expressed our complete willingness to do so, so far no definite plan has been carried through. We believe that the recruiting of members to take the course should be done by the Unions, and it is difficult for that to be carried out since no one person has accepted that responsibility. However, we are available to them, individually or collectively, and are hoping that future programs can be arranged.

- 5) Mr. Jack Hurvich, President, Greater Boston CIO Industrial Union Council.

Mr. Hurvich represents an organization which claims twenty





to thirty thousand members in the Greater Boston area. He is a member of the Labor-Management Committee of the Community Fund and last fall acted as General Vice-Chairman in the 1947 Campaign. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Greater Boston Community Council. He agreed with Mr. Carey that the relations between the Fund and Council and organized labor in Boston were very good. On one occasion, he said, he had written them rather a stiff letter because they had failed to give labor certain recognition which he believed was due them. CIO, as he had pointed out, was perfectly capable of starting its own social services if necessary. However, he said, relations were now very good and, on the whole, he did not believe that it would be wise for CIO to operate its own social services. In the first place, it would be very expensive; and also, he said, "We would be like what you might call a diamond in the rough. We would mean well, but we would be green at the job and would not have the benefit of the years of experience which the social agencies have had." He therefore concluded that it was much wiser for the unions to cooperate with the existing social services. He said also, "I believe in social service because I believe it is closer to the heart of the people than anything else." He believes that the great strikes of 1946, with their accompanying hardships, had been influential in showing union members the great need for social services and had made them more ready to support them than ever before.





Mr. Hurvich was very enthusiastic about the union counselor training course and felt it was especially valuable in educating the rank and file union member about the social services. He thought it was a good idea to include both CIO and AFL members in the course, as their interests were fundamentally the same and this was one way of bringing them together. He paid tribute to Mrs. Guild for the work she had done with union members, both during the course and subsequently.

6) Mr. Ernest Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer, Greater Boston Building and Construction Trades Council, AFL.

As already indicated, AFL is stronger in Boston than CIO and claims eighty thousand members. Mr. Johnson is a man who has been a prominent AFL leader for many years and has distinguished himself as a public-spirited citizen. Mr. Carey referred to him as the 'Dean of Labor Relations' in Boston. He has been a member of the Board of Directors of the Greater Boston Community Fund since its inception in 1935. He is also a member of the Central Budget Committee. He agreed also with Mr. Carey that consistent friendly relations had existed between the Fund and organized labor throughout the entire period of the Fund's existence. He also believes that labor should not be 'singled out' for special recognition, but should be treated as one of other community groups and given recognition only as it earns recognition. He is opposed to the employment of special labor staff, either by the Fund or by labor itself for Fund-raising purposes. His reason for this belief





is that he considers that the employment of such staff spoils the volunteer spirit which has made the Fund what it is. If a paid employe is on the job, the tendency is for union members to sit back and let the paid employe do all the work, with the feeling that they have no further responsibility.

Mr. Johnson was less enthusiastic about the cooperation given by the Council to organized labor and apparently felt that they had been very slow in taking any action to that end. However, he believed that the union counseling training course was an excellent thing and had done a great deal in educating the worker as to the vastness of the entire social service picture. He also paid enthusiastic tribute to Mrs. Guild and said that she had done more through her own personal efforts to create good feeling between the Council and labor than anybody else.

7) Mr. Wilbur Maxwell, Director, Labor-Employe Participation Department, Community Chests and Councils, Inc.

The writer also had an opportunity to discuss this study with Mr. Wilbur Maxwell. Mr. Maxwell is particularly concerned with the subject of labor participation and is interested in developments in Boston, because of the fact that the Greater Boston Community Fund is one of the largest and most important community chests in the country. He has prepared the following statement for the purposes of this study:

The ever widening pressure of campaigns for the joint financing of social agencies has resulted in subscriptions from many thousands of working people. There has not been





a development of representation of these people in the activities which they are helping to support in keeping with the increase in the number of such subscribers. I am sure that the suggestion of contributions without representation would have a somewhat familiar ring to Bostonians, who remember the episode of the Tea Party. Of course, with heavy losses in the area of large independent gifts, even the most conservative people remember that it is necessary to broaden the base of giving still further. This means including more and more employe groups, of which organized labor is not only the most articulate and the most aggressive, but is also the easiest to deal with because it is organized.

Representatives of working people are needed in the planning, operation and support of community services in the field of health and welfare for another reason and that is, the special knowledge and experience which such representatives have and which they can contribute to the general plan. In the effort to make up the lag which has occurred in the participation of working people it is natural to turn to organized labor. There are, however, difficulties which make it necessary to work in a special way with these groups. People of wealth and leisure, those associated with management and the professions have been associated with private social work since its early beginnings. It is a comparatively easy matter to absorb them into Community Chests and Councils. Representatives of organized labor, on the other hand, are at a considerable disadvantage on chest and social agency boards. In the first place, they are very much in the minority; meetings are held in unfamiliar places and often at inconvenient times, and these representatives often know very little about social agencies in general. There has been a tendency to call repeatedly on top labor leadership, with the result that many such leaders have had the opportunity to become better informed, but the great mass of rank and file workers still know little or nothing about social work.

There is coupled with this fact a tradition of suspicion and hostility on the part of many members of organized labor towards social work, arising mainly out of their lack of information. All of this presents a particularly difficult problem to Community Chests, which will not be overcome quickly, but which will require years of slow and patient effort. The Labor Participation Department of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. is recommending the employment of special labor staff in the larger industrial communities because of these difficulties, and the importance of working out definite plans of overcoming the lag





in representation and participation as quickly as possible. Without such labor staff, the size and complexity of the problems will delay the achievement of substantial improvement.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Summary

This completes the presentation of the material gathered by the writer for the purposes of this study. In this presentation, the writer has first attempted to sketch the broad background against which developments in Boston were set. An account was given of the development of the Community Chest and Council movement in this country. Traditional attitudes of organized labor towards social welfare were then outlined. These attitudes, which were often marked by hostility and suspicion, have carried over from the past into the modern development of community chests and councils. The period of the 1930's was one of unprecedented growth and recognition of organized labor. The passage of the National Labor Relations Act in 1935, the beginning of CIO in 1937 and finally, the entry of the United States into World War II--all were factors which had important and far-reaching effects upon the rise to great strength of organized labor. Community chests have always presented an interesting combination of idealism with down-to-earth realism. After the two great national labor organizations had organized their war relief committees and conducted their first campaigns for funds, it was evident that organized labor had become a big giver. Community chests have always recognized

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<sup>1</sup> Letter to the writer from Wilbur F. Maxwell, April 7, 1947.





the big giver. A period of courtship ensued, with the result that Community Chests and Councils, Inc. arrived at an agreement with the National CIO Committee for American and Allied Relief and the United Nations Relief Committee, AFL, on August 17, 1942. The National War Fund officially began in January, 1943, and further agreements were reached, by which the National War Fund assumed two-thirds of the cost of financing the two national labor committees, the other third being assumed by the American Red Cross. As a result of these agreements, the two national labor committees were able to send representatives to various areas of the United States, for the purpose of developing labor's cooperation with War Fund and Red Cross drives. At the end of the war, the Committee on Future Relations with Organized Labor of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. attempted unsuccessfully to secure support from local chests for continuing the support of the national labor committees. The labor representatives were therefore withdrawn from the local areas, although the national labor committees were continued on a restricted basis. Community Chests and Councils, Inc. did succeed in obtaining sufficient support from local chests to set up a new Labor-Employe Participation Department to further cooperation with these committees.

The effectiveness of policies adopted by national organizations can only actually be measured by the extent to which they are accepted and put into action by local affiliates. Since the Greater Boston Community Fund is one of the largest





and most uniformly successful chests in the country, it seemed to offer a good opportunity for study of this effectiveness. Chapter III presents a brief historic account of the development of the fund and then goes on to trace the development of cooperative working agreements with organized labor, not only during the war, but in the post-war period.

Community Chests and Councils, Inc. is concerned not only with fund-raising, but with activities other than fund-raising relating to total community planning. Agreements with labor had specified that unions should be given representation on chest boards and allocating committees, and labor soon became interested in participating in the activities of social planning groups. Informal meetings between Community Chests and Councils, Inc. staff members and representatives of the two national labor committees had resulted in the formulation of tentative policies to be considered in this connection. These policies were mailed to local councils of social agencies, and reports and discussion were requested. In 1944, the National Joint Clearing Body was organized and the continuation of such discussions as those mentioned above, was formally accepted. At war's end, it was evident that Community Chests and Councils, Inc. intended to continue this form of participation with organized labor.

An account was then given of the Greater Boston Community Council and the extent to which it has followed the recommendations made by Community Chests and Councils, Inc. Since the





most outstanding development has been the union counseling program, special study was made of this program and an attempt was made to evaluate its significance.

Opinions given in the early part of this chapter, although informally given and reflecting, to a certain extent, the subjective feelings of the speaker, nevertheless have contributed to the writer's own evaluations of the programs carried on in Boston, as presented in the conclusions.

### 3. Conclusions.

In the introductory chapter to this study, the purpose was defined as follows: "To examine and evaluate the record of accomplishment in the development of a working relationship between the Greater Boston Community Fund and the Greater Boston Community Council on the one hand, with the Boston representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, on the other, considered in the framework of similar developments on the national level." In order to carry out this purpose, it was considered necessary to answer the following questions:

1. What have been the concrete developments on the national level, both with regard to fund raising, and to activities other than fund raising, which have gone into building this framework?
2. To what extent have these national developments been influential in determining policies and action in Boston, both with regard to fund raising, and to activities other than fund raising?
3. To what extent have they not been influential and for what reasons?





4. Has Boston made any unique contribution in the development of this working relationship?
5. Have these developments been of value for the progress of social work, insofar as it is being developed by the community organization process in Boston?
6. What are the future trends and possibilities in the further development of this relationship?

The writer has attempted to fulfill this purpose and answer these questions in the main body of this thesis, particularly those questions relating to factual material. The last three questions might be considered to be questions of opinion, rather than of fact. Opinions and conclusions which have been formed by the writer in making this study are herewith presented:

1) Community Chests and Councils, Inc. evidently considers cooperation with organized labor as an important part of its program. Although it has no actual authority over affiliated chests and councils, Community Chests and Councils, Inc. has taken a great deal of initiative in encouraging its affiliates to develop cooperative working relationships with organized labor on the local level. Through agreements entered into with the two national labor committees, through special bulletins to affiliates, through articles in "Community," and through special sessions and speeches at regional and national conferences, Community Chests and Councils, Inc. has made intensive efforts in this direction. Of particular significance is the setting up of the new Labor-Employe Participation Department, whose function is to offer field service to communities





requesting assistance in handling labor problems. Present plans indicate that this new department is regarded as a permanent part of the organization and it would seem that labor participation had come into the chest and council field to stay.

2) The Greater Boston Community Fund has followed the recommendations of the national organization in the following ways:

The Board of Directors and the Budget Committee have had labor representatives since 1935. Labor representatives have also been included on other important committees. Even before national agreements were reached, local agreements were made with organized labor in connection with the first United War Fund campaign. These were later revised to conform more closely with national agreements. A Labor-Management Committee has been set up, and representatives of labor participate in the campaign organization, particularly in the Industrial Division. Campaign policies for employe solicitation are formulated by the Labor-Management Committee and actual solicitation is conducted in each factory by a plant labor-management committee. Special dinners and publicity events have been planned for labor people. In the post-war period, in spite of the withdrawal of the two representatives of the national labor committees, the Fund has been able to renew its agreements with labor and to maintain labor's cooperation in the campaign.

It would appear that, on the whole, the Fund has succeeded in establishing good relationships with labor. The Fund has





not employed special staff for dealing with labor, as recommended by Mr. Maxwell, for reasons indicated in the early part of this chapter. It is the writer's opinion that progress up to this point has been good, but that relationships are now somewhat static and will continue to be so unless special labor staff is employed.

3) The Greater Boston Community Council has undoubtedly been slower than the Fund in carrying out recommendations made by Community Chests and Councils, Inc. This may be due to the fact that the Council is not faced with the immediate problems of fund raising and is therefore able to proceed at a more leisurely pace. Throughout the war period, the Council did not have labor representation on its Board of Directors, and labor participation in committee activities was very slight. Although opinion is evidently favorable to its development, there has not been, nor is there now a labor participation committee. Labor representatives have recently been added to the Board of Directors, but the Council apparently thinks of labor as a participant in the Council, only insofar as Council activities touch upon the welfare of union members. The most progressive labor leaders believe that representatives of labor have a concern with the welfare of the total community as much as representatives of other groups, and they advocate a more equal partnership.

The union counseling program, in itself, did not contribute to this equal partnership, although it has done a great





deal to make for better feeling between the Council and union members. If labor staff were to be employed by the Fund, such staff might also be shared by the Council. It would then be possible to continue and promote this program which has been so successfully launched.

4) Boston has apparently not made any unique contribution in the development of a working relationship between Fund and Council and organized labor. The only possible exception to this statement might be the inclusion of AFL representatives in the committee and membership of the training courses. Union counseling is a CIO program, and in most communities, it has been carried on chiefly by cooperation between councils and CIO. Although AFL officials are fully in favor of union counseling, the program has not been sufficiently promoted among rank and file members, so that actual AFL participation has been slight.

5) There is also not much indication that developments in Boston up to the present time have had much influence on the progress of social work in the area. It is of course beneficial to social work to have the services of its agencies known to more and more people, and to this extent the Fund and Council have probably been successful in widening the circle. However, so far as the writer knows, labor representatives have not yet been greatly influential in shaping programs or altering policies.





## 6) General Conclusions.

It is difficult to consider future trends and possibilities in the further development of a working relationship between the Fund and Council and organized labor in Boston beyond the points already indicated, because of the fact that developments in Boston will inevitably be influenced by developments on the national level. At the present time, the future of organized labor in this country is characterized by uncertainty. Although labor's power and prestige reached unprecedented heights during the war years, post-war strikes have created a fairly widespread antagonism towards labor. It might be supposed that labor would be able to retain a majority of its hard-won gains, Nevertheless, labor is threatened with restrictive legislation from Congress which may curtail its powers for many years to come.

Mr. Philip Murray has said, "Once the workers are organized, many new vistas will open and American workers will assume new obligations . . . not only financial, but also for social planning and community endeavor." Nobody is more aware than the social worker that individuals, groups and even nations are able to function in areas beyond their immediate concerns only insofar as they feel themselves secure. It must be remembered that labor was organized for the purpose of fighting for security for working people. The battle has been long, hard and bloody, and, in spite of labor's great gains, the battle still continues. Like other warring groups, labor





has often adopted anti-democratic, arbitrary and violent methods. It has been an inevitable concomitant of this battle that bitter, strong and violent prejudices should have developed on both sides.

Community chests and councils have given recognition to labor because labor was a big giver and also because labor was an important group in the community which, potentially, at least, should have much to contribute. Nevertheless, there are still many communities in which this recognition has not been given. There are still more communities in which such representation as has been granted amounts to little more than token representation. Even in a city like Boston, where the Community Fund has done a great deal to encourage labor participation, there are still Board members who regard labor as a "necessary evil," as Mr. Newcomb said. It must be remembered that the great majority of Board members are still those connected with management and the professions. Even when labor representatives attend board meetings, they are apt to be overshadowed by other more experienced and more articulate members. Often, labor representatives are unable to attend at all because meetings are held at times and places which are not planned for their convenience.

Another factor to be considered is that, although top labor leaders are often educated people, well able to express themselves in national conclaves, the great mass of union members do not have a similar degree of education and are





therefore at a disadvantage in social work groups, where the whole procedure is according to careful and slow discussion methods.

Because of these considerations, the writer has therefore arrived at the following general conclusions:

- a. The whole field of labor relations in this country is at present in a state of flux. Since there is no group more sensitive to public opinion than community chests and councils, the development of their relations with labor will be determined, to a great extent, by larger developments.
- b. Only as labor is able to achieve security, will union members be able to assume the position of responsible citizenship.
- c. The bitter feelings which have developed on both sides will not change over night. The inclusion of labor representatives on boards or committees, as well as other cooperative undertakings, like the union counseling courses have been a positive step forward in creating better feeling. If such cooperation continues, there is hope that bitterness of feeling may gradually die down.
- d. Labor representatives will continue to be at a disadvantage as minority members of educated groups and this can only be remedied by increasing educational opportunities.
- e. Labor participation in fund raising and social planning is still in its early beginnings.





The continuous goal of democracy, which must be realized if democracy is to endure, is to educate larger and larger numbers of people to take their places as citizens. In a totalitarian or socialist state, reliance is placed on a strong central government with power to rule or to plan. Democracy, on the other hand, requires the active participation of all its citizens. Community chests and councils are a product of democracy and could only exist in a democracy. They offer a modern version of the old New England town meeting, where all citizens meet as equals to consult and plan for the well-being of the community.

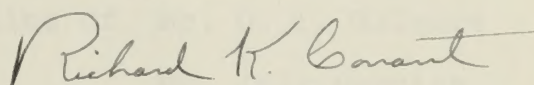
It is therefore encouraging to note the progress which has been made towards including a more equal representation of all citizens in community chests and councils. Today increasing stress is being laid on the importance of including in social planning groups not only those concerned with planning for others, but also those for whom services are being planned. Often they constitute a potential clientele. It is therefore appropriate that they should be asked to participate in planning for those with whose problems they are familiar. Such participation should have value for the whole field of social work. Furthermore, a more equal sharing of community responsibilities among people from all walks of life should have a strengthening and vitalizing force in the development of democracy in this country.





Therefore, although labor participation in community chests and councils presents many difficulties which will not be quickly or easily overcome, it is to be hoped that community chests and councils and organized labor will continue to work together towards a more complete fulfillment of their mutual goals.

Approved



Richard K. Conant, Dean





## APPENDIX I

## PROGRAM OF UNION COUNSELOR TRAINING COURSE

Under the Auspices of

Greater Boston CIO Industrial Union Council

In cooperation with the

Greater Boston Community Council

September 25 - October 30, 1945

First Session	Greetings and Outline of Course*	Mr. O. T. Gilmore Mr. Jack Hurvich Mr. Charles Auslander
	"Interviewing Techniques"	Miss Bernice Henderson
Second Session	"Health and Social Welfare Services As Reflected in the Organization of The Greater Boston Community Council"	Mr. O. T. Gilmore
	"Services of Public and Private Family Agencies"	Mr. Donald W. Moreland
Third Session	"Child Care"	Mr. Ralph Ross
	"Group Work and Youth Agencies"	Miss Claire Fisk
Fourth Session	"Public Health and Hospitals"	Dr. Charles F. Wilinsky
	"Unemployment Compensation and Social Security"	Mr. John F. Hardy
Fifth Session	"Public Housing"	Mr. Sumner K. Wiley
	"Information Service"	Mrs. Frances W. Guild
	"Red Cross"	Mr. C. Wilson Anderson
Sixth Session	"Social Action"	Mr. Reuben Lurie
	"The Returning Service-man"	Dr. Malcolm J. Farrell

\*Mr. Henry C. Murray and Mr. Ernest Johnson, both AFL representatives, were to have been present at this original meeting and to have participated in the greetings. Unfortunately neither of them was able to be present.





## APPENDIX II

## AN INFORMATION COURSE ON HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES OF

## GREATER BOSTON

## FOR LABOR UNION MEMBERS

Under the auspices of

the Greater Boston Community Council

April 23 - May 28, 1946

First Session	Greeting from AFL and CIO	
	"Services of Public and Private Family Agencies"	Mr. Donald Moreland
Second Session	"Child Care"	Mr. Cheney C. Jones
Third Session	"Public Health"	Dr. Charles Wilinsky
Fourth Session	"Interviewing and Demon- strations"	Miss Bernice Henderson
Fifth Session	"Recreation"	Miss Claire Fisk
	"Unemployment Compensa- tion and Social Secur- ity"	Mr. John F. Hardy
Sixth Session	"Red Cross"	Mr. C. W. Anderson
	"Public Housing"	Mr. Sumner K. Wiley





## APPENDIX III

## SCHEDULE USED IN INTERVIEWING UNION COUNSELORS

## 1. Training Course

How did you first become interested in union counseling?  
Were you selected to attend the course or did you  
volunteer?  
Was the course satisfactory to you?

## 2. Cooperation in Plant

Have you been given good cooperation in your plant?  
Has the publicity been good? Posters? Article in  
news bulletin?  
Explanation at union meetings? Other?  
Are you permitted by foreman to go freely about plant  
in line with your job as a Union Counselor?

## 3. Referrals

How many referrals have you handled since you completed  
the training course?  
Did the people come directly to you, or did you contact  
them?  
Do they seem to understand your function as a union  
counselor, or do they expect more of you than you are  
able to carry out?  
Do they follow up on your recommendations? If not,  
why not?  
If you have had no referrals, can you account for the  
reason?

## 4. Follow-up

Has anything further been done by your union since the  
training course to organize meetings or conferences to  
continue interest?

## 5. Do you think your job as a Union Counselor is worth while?





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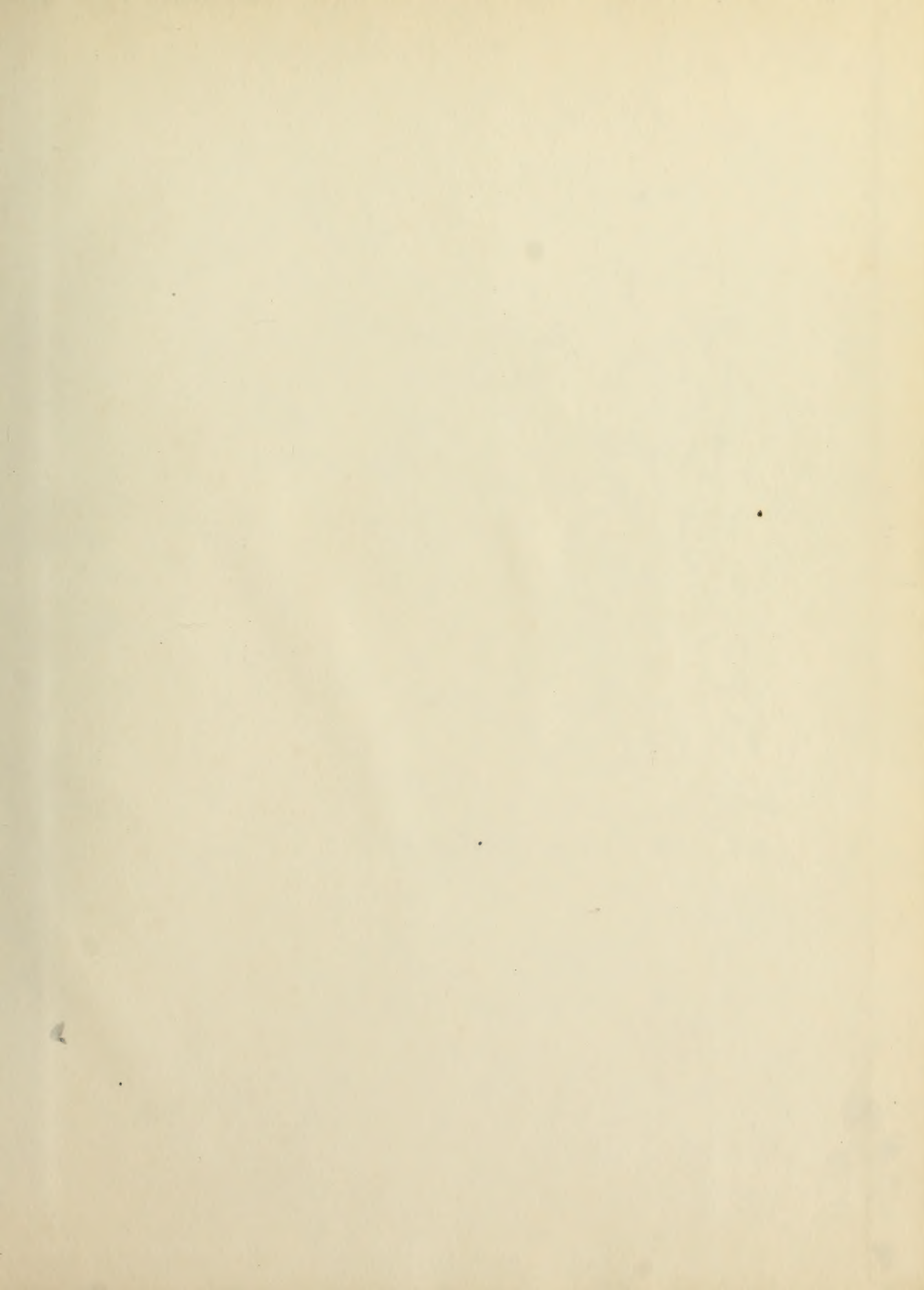
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